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ABSTRACT

This is the first of seven interrelated volumes comprising "Contemporary Cambodian". Other texts in the series include introductory lessons, four topic-oriented textbooks, and a comprehensive Cambodian-English English-Cambodian glossary. This volume is a description of aspects of Cambodian grammar and usage. Chapters concentrate on phonology, syntax, word classes, nominals, verbals, adverbials, relators, and vocabulary and usage. Appendixes contain summaries of some important words and a section on Cambodian names and titles. (RL)

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN

ED 066094

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

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By
MADELINE E. EHRMAN
with the assistance of KEM SOS

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PREFACE

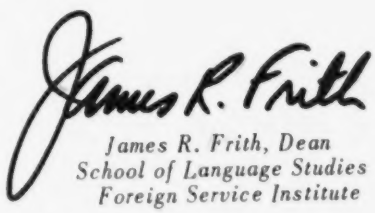
This is the first of seven interrelated volumes comprising **Contemporary Cambodian.** *The other six will be* **Introductory Lessons,** *four topic-oriented textbooks, and a comprehensive Cambodian-English English-Cambodian glossary. It is appropriate that this volume bearing the subtitle* **Grammatical Sketch** *should be the first module to appear since all the others are to be cross-referenced to it.*

Contemporary Cambodian, *of which the* **Grammatical Sketch** *is a central part, is not projected as a series. The topic-oriented modules are to be co-equal elements in an array of materials from which the course director can choose according to the interests of his students.*

Earl W. Stevick, in **Adapting and Writing Language Lessons** *(Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1971), says, "The modular principle suggests that the several components be designed so that they may be rearranged to suit the convictions of various kinds of user, and so that the individual components may be replaced with minimum disturbance to the rest." He cites earlier examples of the modular approach in the work of language textbook writers at the Foreign Service Institute and elsewhere. In the plan for* **Contemporary Cambodian,** *Miss Ehrman adopts the modular principle and applies it at the intermediate level.*

The **Grammatical Sketch** *is essentially a companion-piece to the other volumes. However, language scholars may also find it useful in its own right as a brief description of the Cambodian language.*

The seven modules of **Contemporary Cambodian,** *projected, in preparation, or completed, have been made possible by support from the Defense Language Institute and by the cooperation and encouragement of Dr. Roy F. Fallis, Jr., Chief of the DLI Systems Development Agency, and Colonel Roy M. Kessler, Director of the Defense Language Institute.*



James R. Frith, Dean
School of Language Studies
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Foreword

I. Introduction and Recommendations for Use

Contemporary Cambodian, a set of materials in modular form, is meant to teach the Cambodian language to beginning and intermediate students. It includes:

1) a basic module of sixty lessons
2) four intermediate modules of approximately fifteen lessons each, dealing with political, economic, social, cultural, and military topics (under preparation)
3) the present volume: a description of aspects of Cambodian grammar and usage. This volume does not include lessons; it is meant to be used for reference.
4) a Cambodian-English, English-Cambodian glossary (under preparation)

This part of Contemporary Cambodian is a description of the most important structural and stylistic features of the language. The first chapter is a brief introduction to the language and its speakers. The second chapter is a sketch of Cambodian phonology, that is, the sounds of the language. The following chapter outlines Cambodian syntax, the way words are put together into phrases, clauses and sentences. After the syntax chapter, the word classes nominals, verbals, adverbials, and relators are treated, each class in a separate chapter. The last chapter discusses special problems of vocabulary and usage, focusing on the effects of factors of relative age, social class, and blood relationship. There are two appendices, as well. The first summarizes the many uses of some very common words that are grammatically significant. The second appendix describes Cambodian naming patterns and presents the most common titles.

There are many points of grammar and usage that are not treated in this sketch. Some of these occur in the notes to the lessons, which are also part of Contemporary Cambodian. There are other points which are simply not treated in these materials at all. However, I hope that what has been included will meet the needs of beginning and intermediate students of Cambodian.

It is recommended that beginning students read the Introduction (Chapter I) and simply look quickly throught the rest of the grammatical sketch to give themselves an idea of its contents. Students should read carefully any sections of the sketch which are cross-referred to in the lesson they are currently studying; it would also be helpful

to look at sections surrounding the section referred to. After approximately twenty-four weeks of study it is recommended that the student read through the sketch to familiarize himself more thoroughly with its contents. The beginning and intermediate modules in this course are meant to be used with this grammatical sketch, since many very important points are not discussed in the notes to the lessons but simply given a cross-reference to the sketch.

II. Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the help of many people, without which this grammatical sketch would not have been possible. Responsibility for error is mine, of course, but whatever merit this volume may have is in large part due to the following:

to Dr. James Frith, Dean of the FSI School of Language Studies, for his interest, his encouragement, and his support throughout all phases of this project, from preparation of the proposal to final typing for publication. I owe my very fruitful six weeks in Phnom Penh more to Dr. Frith than to any other person. I especially appreciate Dr. Frith's patience with my impatience during periods of slow progress.

to Dr. Roy Fallis of the Defense Language Institute, for his interest and support, and for his large contribution to making a reality of the Cambodian materials project of which this grammatical sketch is a part.

to Dr. Warren Yates, Chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages at FSI and Mr. Augustus Koski, Publications Chief at FSI, for administrative support, including good-natured toleration of my impatience.

to Mr. Nuon Bouth of Phnom Penh, Mr. Dik Keam of the Buddhist Institute in Phnom Penh, Mrs. Marianne Adams of FSI, Dr. Warren Yates of FSI, and Dr. Franklin Huffman of Yale University for reading through the prefinal draft of the sketch and giving helpful suggestions. Dr. Huffman's comments were especially detailed, and all were useful. Dr. Huffman's dissertation Outline of Cambodian Structure (1967) has been of great help to me also; specific debts to this book are acknowledged in footnotes in the body of the grammatical sketch.

to Dr. Allen Weinstein of the Vietnam Training Center at FSI, from whom I learned a great deal about Vietnamese in our many very helpful discussions when I was working with him as linguist for Vietnamese. Many of Dr. Weinstein's ideas about Vietnamese structure have influenced my analysis of Cambodian, since the two languages have many grammatical points in common.

to the many colleagues at FSI whose ideas influenced the format of these materials. The modular arrangement of the materials is the product of the thinking of many people here, chief among whom have been Dr. Ronald Goodison and Dr. Earl Stevick. Dr. Stevick was also of help in choosing the title Contemporary Cambodian.

to Mr. Kem Sos, who taught me much of the Cambodian I know. Mr. Kem Sos is an outstanding teacher, an excellent linguistic informant, and a gifted creator of materials. The high quality of his calligraphy is evident throughout this volume. In addition to his contributions as teacher, informant, author, and scribe, Mr. Kem Sos has been my most careful and thorough critic; he read every chapter as it was written and caught many errors both of commission and of omission.

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Madeline E. Ehrman

CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: Grammatical Sketch

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

I.1 Introduction

The official language of Cambodia is Cambodian, also known as Khmer. It is the native language of the approximately 7,000,000 Khmer who constitute a majority in Cambodia. Cambodian is spoken also by approximately 4,500,000 Cambodians in the Mekong Delta area of South Vietnam and approximately 700,000 in northeastern Thailand.

Other languages spoken in Cambodia include Vietnamese, Chinese, Cham, various Montagnard tongues in the northeastern region, and Thai near the Thailand border.

I.2 Geographic and Social Divisions of Cambodia

Cambodian geographic dialects differ little from one another. Social divisions, however, involve highly formalized conventions affecting the most common types of speech.

I.2.1 Geographic Divisions

The best known division in the Cambodian speech community is between Cambodia proper (including Cambodians in Thailand) and Cambodians living in South Vietnam, who are known as the Khmer Krom 'lower Cambodians.' The dialects are mutually intelligible, since the differences are primarily phonological and are slight. Khmer living in Thailand have a divergent dialect as well.[1]

Within Cambodia, Phnom Penh speech differs slightly from the provincial varieties of the language. The major feature distinguishing Phnom Penh speech is that where other dialects have either a flap or retroflex /r/, Phnom Penh has pharyngeal friction accompanied by a low pitch on the following vowel, plus changes in vowel quality in some cases.

The speech of the Khmer Krom is characterized by conservatism in pronunciation. It corresponds more closely to written Cambodian than does the Cambodian used in Cambodia.

I.2.2 Social Divisions

Members of all social classes use Cambodian for most everyday purposes. Commercial life before the 1970 disposition of Sihanouk was controlled largely by the Chinese (big business) and the Vietnamese (small business), and this fact was reflected in the widespread use of Chinese in major business transactions and of Vietnamese in small ones.

---

1. Franklin Huffman, personal communication.

Vietnamese was used for bargaining. Since spring 1970 many of the Vietnamese have left Cambodia and consequently they no longer control small business.

Most Khmers are peasants engaged in rice growing. The civil service is largely Khmer, but is relatively small. The other two important social classes among the Khmer are royalty and the Buddhist clergy.

Royalty and Buddhist monks each use a variety of Cambodian which is characterized by obligatory substitutions of vocabulary items, most notably personal pronouns and words referring to common activities like eating and walking. Members of these two groups must be addressed and described in language using these characteristic terms as well.

I.3 The Cambodian Language

The Cambodian language is the most important member of the Mon-Khmer language family. Mon-Khmer is probably related to Vietnamese; attempts have also been made to relate Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian language family, but so far no scholar has succeeded in providing completely convincing evidence for this hypothesis. Thus, for the time being, Cambodian and its Mon-Khmer relatives are treated as unrelated to any other languages. However, Cambodian has borrowed from many languages, especially from Sanskrit, Pali, Thai, and Vietnamese. It has also borrowed from Chinese, Portuguese, Malay, more recently French, and still more recently from English.

Most colloquial speech relies on native Mon-Khmer words; however, any elevation in style or discussion of topics of a political, cultural etc. nature involves the introduction of many words of Indian (Sanskrit and Pali) origin. Sanskrit and Pali bear much the same relation to Cambodian as Greek and Latin do to English. Most neologisms are coined using Indic roots, and puristic speakers prefer a neologism of Indic origin to a French or English borrowing. Nevertheless, the ordinary speech of urban Cambodians contains many French words, especially for products of Western technology and philosophy, since most secular education has been in French (but the amount of French used in the schools is currently decreasing in favor of Cambodian and, to some extent, English).

The majority of rural Cambodians are monolingual in Cambodian. However, the populations of areas bordering Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam are bilingual in varying degrees of fluency; Cambodian males who have studied at a Buddhist pagoda are familiar with Pali and Sanskrit, and some urban Cambodians know Chinese. Of course, educated Cambodians know French.

Cambodian may be typed as an isolating language, which means that it makes most of its

grammatical distinctions by means of word-order rather than by means of affixes and changes within words. Native Khmer words may include prefixes, suffixes, and infixes which change the part of speech (e.g. by turning a noun into a verb) or which change the root meaning of a word without changing its grammatical function. However, while the patterns of affixation are complex, the affixes are seldom used in new combinations and so are more helpful in recognizing relations between words than in the creation of new words.

Cambodian is unlike its neighbors in that it is nontonal. Most words of native origin are mono- or disyllabic; words of Indic origin tend to be polysyllabic. Cambodian words have stress on the last syllable, even in polysyllables borrowed from Sanskrit, Pali, and modern European languages.

PHONOLOGY

P.1 Consonants

Cambodian has 22 consonant phonemes (sets of sounds that distinguish between one word and another in a given language, e.g. English bet and pet, in which /b/ and /p/ are distinct phonemes). They are:

		labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	voiceless, unaspirated	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	voiceless, aspirated	ph	th	ch	kh	
	voiced, (implosive)	b	d			
Nasals		m	n	ñ	ŋ	
Fricatives		(f)[1]	s			h
Flap			r			
Lateral			l			
Semivowels		w	y			

Of these, only the following are likely to give much trouble to the English speaker.

P.1.1 Single Consonants

a.) /ñ/ is very similar to the ny sound in canyon or onion when pronounced fast. It is pronounced with the front third of the tongue starting from a position against the hard palate: ញឹយ /ñooy/ 'often,' ទិញ/tiñ/ 'buy.'

b.) English speakers use /ŋ/ all the time at the end of a syllable, e.g. song, singing. However, some Cambodian syllables begin with this sound, e.g. ងាយ/ŋiey/ 'easy' or ងងឹត /ŋəŋɨt/ 'dark.' If you are having trouble making this sound, try the following exercises:

1. Say singing, but draw out the ng, so that you are saying 'sinnngging.' Then try to break the word after the first i: si-nngging, si-nging, then leave off the si and say 'ŋing.'

1. Occurs only in words borrowed from other languages, e.g. /kafee/'coffee'

2. Put your tongue into position to say ga, but don't actually say it. Now instead of letting the air out through your mouth as you would when you say ga, let it out through your nose (as you would if you were saying ma or na). You should end up saying na. (Remember, as you say na to keep your tongue in the position for saying ga.)

c.) English speakers use both aspirated and unaspirated stops all the time, but they do not pay attention to them because they do not make distinctions between words with aspiration. For instance, if you hold a light piece of paper before your lips as you say pin (aspirated p), you will see the paper flap, but if you say spin (unaspirated p), the paper will move much less. In Cambodian, words are distinguished by the difference between an aspirated and unaspirated stop, e.g. កែ /kaɛ/ 'to correct' and ខែ /khaɛ/ 'month;' តា /taa/ 'grandfather' and ថា /thaa/ 'to say.' It will be necessary for you to listen for this distinction and be careful to make it when you speak.

Note that the unaspirated voiceless stops /t/ and /p/ may sound like the voiced stops /d/ and /b/. However, they, too, are in contrast, e.g. តែ /taɛ/ 'but, only' and ដែ /daɛ/ 'also,' or ផ្អួន /puon/ 'to hide' and ប្អួន /buon/ 'four.' The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ are articulated with a slight intake of air rather than the release of air to which you are accustomed in English.

d.) At the end of a syllable, /c/ is pronounced without friction. It may sound at first like a kind of /t/ to you, but in fact it is a ch-sound begun but not finished.

e.) Unlike the English retroflex r, Cambodian /r/ is a tongue-tip flap made just behind the upper teeth). It is very similar to the Spanish r in pero 'but.' Cambodian example: រយ /roɗy/ 'hundred,' ប្រាំ /pram/ 'five.' In Phnom Penh speech, prevocalic /r/ is replaced by pharyngealization and a low rising tone on the following vowel. If your teacher speaks the Phnom Penh variety of Cambodian imitate his pronunciation of the following words: ប្រែ /praɛ/ 'translate,' គ្រូ /kruu/ 'teacher,' រៀន /rien/ 'study.'

f.) The Cambodian /v/ varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers pronounce it like English w but others pronounce it like English v but with both lips rather than the upper lip and lower teeth as in English.

TABLE I

Initial Consonant Sequences[2]

a. Initial Stop

--	--	--	tp	tpɔ́l	cheek	cp	cpŭh	toward	kp	kpŭh	high
pt	ptuy	opposite	--	--	--	--	--	--	kt	ktih	coconut milk
pc	pcuo	to plow	--	--	--	--	--	--	kc	kcɛy	to borrow
pk	pkaa	flower	tk	tkiə́m	jaw	ck	ckaɛ	dog	--	--	--
p?	p?oun	younger sibling	t?	t?uuñ	to complain	c?	c?aɛt	full (food)	k?	k?uot	to vomit
--	--	--	tb	tbouŋ	south	cb	cbah	clear	kb	kbuon	mule
pd	pdɛy	husband	--	--	--	cd	cdop	erect	kd	kdaam	crab
ps	psaa	market	--	--	--	--	--	--	ks	ksaoy	weak
--	--	--	tm	tmɔɔ	stone	cm	cmaa	cat	km	kmaɛ	Cambodian
pn	pnum	hill	tn	tnɔl	street	cn	cnuol	servant	kn	knɔŋ	back
pñ	pñaə	to send	--	--	--	--	--	--	kñ	kñom	I
pŋ	pŋuut	to cause to bathe	tŋ	tŋay	day	cŋ	cŋaay	far	kŋ	kŋaok	peacock
pr	praə	to use	tr	trɛy	fish	cr	craən	much	kr	krɔɔ	poor
pl	plaɛk	strange	tl	tlay	expensive	cl	claəy	to answer	kl	klaay	body
py	pyiabaʌl	to take care of	ty	tyuuŋ	coal	--	--	--	ky	kyol	wind
--	--	--	tv	twəə	to do	cv	cvia	Java	kv	kvol	to worry
--	--	--	db	dbət	since, as	--	--	--	qw	qwey	what?

Initial Consonant Sequences (continued)

b. Initial Continuant

--	--	--	lp	lpɨw	pumpkin	sp	spian	bridge
mt	mteeh	red pepper	--	--	--	st	stɨŋ	river
mc	mcul	needle	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	lk	lkaon	a play	sk	skɔɔ	sugar
m?	m?ɔɔm	a kind of herb	l?	l?ɔɔ	good	s?	s?aɛk	tomorrow
--	--	--	lb	lbaɛŋ	game	sb	sbaɛk	skin
md	mdaay	mother	--	--	--	sd	sdam	right (side)
ms	msaw	powder	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	lm	lmoom	enough	sm	smaə	equal
mn	mnŏh	pineapple	--	--	--	sn	snaɛŋ	horn
mñ	mñeem mñɔɔ	an effeminite way of talking	--	--	--	sñ	sñaɛsñɔp	to admire
--	--	--	lŋ	lŋiac	evening	sŋ	sŋat	quiet
mr	mrɨc	pepper	--	--	--	sr	sruol	easy
ml	mlup	shade	--	--	--	sl	sloot	tame
--	--	--	lv	lveeŋ	compartment	sv	svaay	mango
mh	mhoup	food	lh	lhoŋ	papaya	--	--	--

2. In this table the distinction maintained in the transcription between p,t,k,c and ph,th,kh,ch is not made before another consonant, since in fact structurally there is no distinction between aspirates and nonaspirates in this position. That is, while on this point the usual transcription is really a transliteration, in this table, it is a real transcription.

P.1.2 Consonant Sequences

A Cambodian syllable can begin with a two-consonant sequence (ស្រឹ /trəw/ 'must') or three-consonant sequence (ស្ត្រី /strɨy/ 'woman (formal)'). A few of these will give the English speaker no trouble, since they also occur in English.

There is no contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops before another consonant. However, in order to aid in spelling in Cambodian script, the distinction between aspirated and nonaspirated consonants is maintained in the transcription used in these materials. Thus, for instance, ផ្កា /pkaa/ 'flower' is transcribed phkaa because the Cambodian character ផ represents the voiceless aspirate /ph/ before a vowel. However, it could equally well be transcribed /pkaa/.

P.2 Vowels

There are 30 distinct vowel nuclei occurring in Cambodian syllables. Many are very similar to English vowels; others are very different, and others are deceptively like English sounds at first hearing but prove to demand close attention for accurate imitation.

The Cambodian vowels divide up into the following classes: short vowels, long vowels, short diphthongs, and long diphthongs:

Short vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	ɔ

Long vowels:

	front	central	back
high	ii	ɨɨ	uu
high mid			oo (also written ou)
mid	ee	əə	ɔɔ
low	ɛɛ	aa	ɔɔ

Short diphthongs[3]:

	front	back
high		ʉ
low	ɛ́	ɔ́

Long diphthongs:

	front	central	back
high	iə[4]	ɨə	uo
mid	ei[5]	əɨ	oa
low		aə,aɛ,ao	

The short central vowels /ɨ/, /ə/, and /a/ combine with /y/ and /w/ to yield /ɨy, ɨw, əy, əw, ay, aw/.[6]

When you listen to Cambodian, you will hear that before syllable-final /c/ or /ñ/ a vowel is followed by a non-contrastive /y/ glide, so that a word like ទួច /touc/ 'small' is actually pronounced something like [touyc].

P.3 Syllables

Every Cambodian syllable begins with a consonant or consonant cluster, has a nucleus, which consists of a vowel or diphthong, and may or may not end in a consonant. Any consonant may begin a syllable but only the following consonants may end a syllable:

p t c k ʔ
l h
m n ñ ŋ
w y

There are no syllable-final consonant clusters. The possible syllable initial clusters are treated in section P.1.2 above and in Table I. Note that many of these combinations do not occur in English.

The consonants w or y are not followed by another consonant in the same syllable. Short diphthongs occur only in closed syllables (syllables ending in a consonant), e.g. ពាក់ /pɛ́ʔ/ 'to wear.'

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3. The transcription of the short diphthongs conceals the fact that they are really diphthongs /ɛ̆ə, ŭə, ɔ̆ə/ (the breve ˘ indicates that the diphthong is short) rather than short vowels.

4. In the transcription used in these materials, /iə/ is represented by ia (transcribing the script symbol ◌ា after a second series consonant) and by ie (transcribing the symbol ◌ៀ). Thus ចៀ /ciə/ is transcribed cia but រៀន /riən/ is transcribed rien, even though the vowels are the same.

5. In the dialect that this transcription represents there is no distinction between /ei/ and /ee/, so /ei/ does not appear in these materials. However, some Cambodians do have the distinction; if your instructor distinguishes between /ei/ and /ee/, follow his example.

6. The transcription used in these materials writes /w/ as w in /ɨw, əw, aw/, e.g. កៅអី /kaw?ɛy/ 'chair' but as v elsewhere, e.g. វែង /vɛəŋ/ 'long.'

P.4 Words

Most native Cambodian words consist of one or two syllables. However, the language has borrowed a great many words from Pali and Sanskrit, with the result that there are now many polysyllables, especially in literary and educated usage. In all cases, however, the main stress falls on the last syllable of the word: បិទ /bət/ 'to close' ទន្លេ /tʊ́nlee/ 'river,' មករា /meʔkeraa/ 'January,' បច្ចុប្បន្នភាព /pɑccobɔnphiəp/ 'current events.' In polysyllables stressed and unstressed syllables alternate, e.g. ភោជនីយដ្ឋាន /phoocəniyəthaan/ 'restaurant.'

In most compounds (words made up of two or more other words), each component keeps its stress pattern, e.g. ភាពយន្ត /phiəpyʊ́n/ 'moving picture' or វិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /wiccia pɑət/ 'subject of medicine.'

P.5 Phrases

A phrase in Cambodian includes one or more words plus an intonation contour. The major types of intonation contour are the following:

P.5.1 Rising (Question) Intonation

a) In a confirmation (yes-no) question the intonation contour normally consists of a gradual rise in pitch until the last stressed syllable of the sentence, at which point it continues to rise more sharply over any following unstressed syllables.

គាត់ជាមិត្តភក្តីអ្នកឬ?

kɔ́t cia puo? ma? look rih?

Is he your friend?

b) In an information (question-word) question, the contour rises until the last stressed syllable of the question word, after which it either gradually drops,

លោកជួបអ្នកណានៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?

look cuop nɔ́? naa niw kanlaeŋ niŋ?

Whom did you meet at that place?

or continues to rise, as in

លោកជួបអ្នកណានៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?

look cuop nɔ́? naa niw kanlaeŋ niŋ?

Whom did you meet at that place?

An information question with falling intonation has a peremptory connotation; rising intonation throughout an information question is more deferent and polite.

P.5.2 Falling Intonation

a) Normal statements are characterized by a slight pitch rise on the most heavily-stressed syllable of the clause followed by a drop throughout subsequent syllables.

ទេ, សុខធ្វើការនៅកន្លែងនោះ។

tee, look sok thee kaa nɨw konlaeŋ nɨ́ŋ.

No, Mr. Sok works at that place.

b) Emphatic statements are characterized by a sharp drop on the most heavily-stressed syllable and low pitch thereafter.

លីសេសុីសុវត្ថិមិនមែនជាសាលាឯកជនទេ។

lisee siisovat mɨn maen cia salaa aekecɑ́n teh.

The Lycee Sisowath is not a private school.

P.6 Formal and Casual Pronunciation

Like most other languages, Cambodian is spoken differently in formal and casual contexts. In a formal context, the pronunciation of each syllable is relatively careful; even unstressed syllables may be pronounced much as they are written. However, the more casual the circumstances, the more reduction is likely to take place in unstressed syllables, especially in the standard and Phnom Penh varieties, so that in some dialects all that may remain of an unstressed syllable is the initial consonant and a reduced vowel /ə/, e.g.

formal /samnat/ casual /sənat/ 'secret' សម្ងាត់

formal /proteeh/ casual /pəteeh/ 'country' ប្រទេស

Internal glottal stop /ʔ/ is normally omitted in casual style, e.g.

formal /niʔyiey/ casual /niyiey/ 'to speak' និយាយ

In addition some consonants change, for example:

formal /robuoh/ casual /ləbuoh/ 'wounded' របួស

formal /bamrien/ casual /pərien/ 'to teach' បង្រៀន

formal /soosee/ casual /təsee/ 'to write' សរសេរ

formal /kyəl/ casual /kcəl/ 'wind, breeze' ខ្យល់

formal /tyuun/ casual /kcuun/ 'coal' ឆ្យូង

In none of these cases is the change regular; in fact only a relatively small number of words is affected, and they may be learned as they occur.

P.6.1 Unstressed Final Particles

Many of the normally unstressed function words are unstressed in casual speech, e.g.

formal	casual	
/mɨn/	/m/	'not'
/nɨŋ/	/nŋ, n, ŋ/	'will'
/tɨw/	/tə/	'go and ...'
/móok/	/mə/	'come and ...'
/tee/	/eh/	(negative or interrogative final)
/nah/	/ah/	'very'
/naa/	/ə/	(emphatic)
/haəy/	/əh/	'already'
/rɨɨ, rɨɨ əy/	/ɨh/[7]	(interrogative final)
/nɨw/	/ɨw/	'yet'
/tɨw/	/təh/	(imperative)

The reduced forms of the sentence-final particles /tee, nah, haəy, nɨw, rɨɨ/ break the rule that all syllables begin with at least one consonant (cf. P.3 above), since these reduced forms begin with vowels (/eh, ah, əh, ɨw, ɨh/). In combination with a preceding word which ends in a consonant, the following occur:

1. If the consonant preceding the particle is a continuant (m, n, ñ, ŋ, l, w, y, h), the continuant is lengthened, e.g.

   formal /mɨn mɛɛn tee/ casual /m mɛɛnneh/ 'it's not true'

   formal /mɨn trəw tee/ casual /m trəwweh/ 'it's not correct'

2. If the consonant is a stop, there are two possibilities:

   a) the final consonant joins the syllable of the particle, e.g.

      formal /mɨn prakɔt tee/ casual /m pakɔ teh/ 'not sure'

   b) or the final consonant remains with its original syllable and the particle begins with a nasal consonant which is homorganic to the

7. /rɨɨ/ may be dropped altogether, leaving a trace only in the intonation of the sentence, e.g.

   formal: look roó? khñom rɨɨ?
   casual: look roo? khñom ? Are you looking for me?

preceding consonant, according to the rules given below in P.6.2, for example:

formal /mɨn prakɔt tee/ casual /m pakɔt nəh/ 'not sure'

formal /s?ɔp rɨɨ/ casual /s?ɔp mɨh/ 'do you hate (him)?'

c) If the preceding word ends with a vowel, the sentence will end with a sequence of vowels, providing an exception to the rule that a syllable must begin with a consonant, e.g. :

formal /khñom thvəə haey/ casual /khñom thəəəh/ 'I've done it already'

d) If there is a sequence of final particles, e.g. តើណាស់ធាំឬយូ?

/thom nah haey rɨɨ/ 'Is (he) big already?'

the casual form will end in a sequence of reduced particles, except for /rɨɨ/, which is set off by a glottal stop: /thommah əh ?ɨh/

In most of the dialogues and drills in the first 60 lessons of the course, the transcription represents a quite casual level of speech. A few words which are not in every day use are transcribed formally, e.g. ប្រតិកម្ម /prətɛ? kam/ 'reaction.' In a few cases the transcription is more formal, using /tee/ for /əh/ etc.

P.6.2 Nasal Enclitics

In reciting and singing, most Cambodians automatically add a meaningless homorganic nasal enclitic to the last syllable in a phrase or clause if it:

1) precedes a pause
2) ends in a voiceless consonant (/p, t, c, k, ?, h/)[8]
3) is stressed.

In this case the nasal is one of the following:

after /p/	it is /m/,	e.g.	/sdap - m/	'to listen'
/t/	it is /n/		/kat - n/	'to cut'
/c/	it is /ñ/		/ntəc - ñ/	'a little bit'
/k/	it is /ŋ/		/s?ack - ŋ/	'tomorrow'
/?/	it is /ŋ/		/pibaa? - ŋ/	'difficult'
/h/	it is /ŋ/		/cah - ŋ/	'old'

8. Remember, /s/ does not occur at the end of a syllable.

In Phnom Penh speech this feature appears in casual usage as well. It occurs in a pre-pausal stressed syllable ending in a voiceless consonant, if the sentence has normal statement intonation. In no case does this nasal enclitic affect the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.

SYNTAX

S.1 Introduction

Like utterances in most other languages, Cambodian utterances can be analyzed into sentences, especially in formal speech. A sentence consists of one or more clauses; a clause consists of one or more phrases, and a phrase consists of one or more words. A word is a meaningful unit that can stand in isolation.

There are several types of clause but only one which can be classed as the major type. This type consists of an optional topic, an optional subject, and an obligatory predicate, plus various adverbials and particles. The topic and subject usually consist of noun phrases; the predicate usually includes a verb phrase, which in turn is frequently followed by a noun phrase serving as object or attribute to the verb.

S.2 Phrases

The two major types of phrase are noun phrases and verb phrases. A noun phrase is one which is headed by a nominal; a verb phrase is headed by a verb. The head of the phrase is the word that the other parts of the phrase modify.

S.2.1 Noun Phrases

The Cambodian noun phrase involves two important constructions: attribution and numeration.

S.2.1.1 Attribution

In nominal attribution the head is followed by the modifier (attribute). The attribute may be:

1. a verb
   a. an action verb: ផ្លូវដើរ /phlɨw daə/ 'a road for walking' (from ផ្លូវ /phlɨw/ 'road, path' and ដើរ /daə/ 'to walk');
2. a noun ផ្លូវឡាន /phlɨw laan/ 'a road for cars' (from ផ្លូវ /phlɨw/ 'road' and ឡាន /laan/ 'car, automobile').
3. an indefinite or question word ផ្លូវណា /phlɨw naa/ 'which road?'(from

ផ្លូវ /phlew/ 'road' and ណា /naa/ 'which, any').

4. a phrase ផ្លូវដឹកទំនិញ /phlew dɨk tumniñ/ 'road for transporting goods' (from ដឹក /dɨk/ 'to transport, lead' and ទំនិញ/tumniñ/ 'merchandise').

5. a clause ផ្លូវ(ដែល)គេកំពុងធ្វើ /phlew (dael)[1] kee kampuŋ thee/ 'the road (that) they are building.' Note that a relative clause may or may not be introduced by ដែល /dael/ 'which, that.' The version with ដែល is slightly more formal but nevertheless widely used in spoken usage.

Note that possession is expressed either by simple attribution, e.g. ផ្ទះខ្ញុំ /phtɔh khñom/ 'my house' (ផ្ទះ /phtɔh/ 'house' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I, me, my') or by a phrase including the word របស់ /rebɔh/ 'property of, belonging to,' e.g. ផ្ទះរបស់ខ្ញុំ /phtɔh rebɔh khñom/ 'my house' (the house belonging to me).

There are some words indicating quantities which are used before the noun they modify, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃ/sɔp thŋay/ 'every day' (សព្វ /sɔp/ 'every' ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day'). These words include:

គ្រប់	/krup/	'all, each, every'
គ្រប់ៗ	/krup krup/	'all'
គ្រប់សព្វ	/krup sɔp/	'all'
តែ	/tae/	'only, just'
គាំង	/tɔŋ/	'all of'
គាំងអស់	/tɔŋ ɔh/	'all of, all'
ពេញ	/piñ/	'all of, to the full extent of'
រាល់	/rɔl/	'every' (with time words)
សព្វ	/sɔp/	'all'
សព្វគ្រប់	/sɔp krup/	'all'
អស់	/ɔh/	'all'

1. Parentheses indicate an optional element in Cambodian.

S.2.1.2 Numeration

In English we divide most common nouns into 'count nouns,' which we see as individual items, e.g. books, pencils, shirts, and into 'mass-nouns,' which we see as aggregates that can only be counted by means of measures or as different types, e.g. 'a pound of sugar, three kinds of sugar.' For mass nouns in English we quantify by a construction which consists of a number, a measure, and a noun, e.g. 'three bags of rice' or 'a glass of water.' There are also a few count nouns which can occur in this kind of construction, e.g. 'a pair of shoes.'

However, in Cambodian the mass-count distinction means much less, since there are many more nouns in Cambodian than in English that are regarded as in some sense mass unless otherwise specified. It is the numeration construction which so specifies. In numeration, which is a special kind of attribution, the word order is noun, number, classifier, e.g. បងពីរនាក់ /bɔɔŋ pii nɑ̆ʔ/ 'two older siblings' in which the noun is បង /bɔɔŋ/ 'older sibling,' the number is ពីរ /pii/ 'two' and the classifier is នាក់ /nɑ̆ʔ/ 'person.'

The classifier corresponds to the English measure but has a wider distribution. While it is true that some measures occur in classifier position, e.g. សាច់ពីរគីឡូ /sac pii kiilou/'two kilos of meat' សាច់ /sac/'meat' ពីរ /pii/'two' គីឡូ /kiilou/'kilo'), many classifiers are not measures. Nouns are members of semantically determined classes, each of which is characterized by a certain nominal that serves as classifier. Thus, for instance, the classifier អ្នក/nɑ̆ʔ/ is used with ordinary people; ដើម/daam/ is used with sticklike objects like pencils, trees, and rifles; and ក្បាល/kbaal/'head' is used with livestock and books. These classes are not mutually exclusive; for instance one may talk of a train in two ways:

រថភ្លើងមួយរទេះ	/rotɔh phlɨɨŋ muoy krɨɨŋ/ 'one train'
រថភ្លើងមួយខ្សែ	/rotɔh phlɨɨŋ muoy khsaɛ/ 'one train'

In the first case attention is focussed on the locomotive, since រទេះ /krɨɨŋ/ is the classifier normally used for engines and machines. In the second case the train is viewed as a whole, including engine and cars, since ខ្សែ /khsaɛ/ refers to strings and wires and long, stringlike objects.

In addition, of course, there are also measures and nouns specifying types that are used in classifier position, e.g. (ស្រាមួយដប /sraa muoy dɔɔp/ 'one bottle of liquor,' ស្រា /sraa/ 'liquor' មួយ /muoy/ 'one' ដប /dɔɔp/ 'bottle') or ម្ហូបបីមុខ /mɑhoup bəy muk/ 'three kinds of food' (ម្ហូប /mɑhoup/ 'food' បី /bəy/ 'three' មុខ /muk/ 'kind, type').

Nouns indicating units of time are also classifiers, e.g. ខ្ញុំទៅអស់ពេលពីរថ្ងៃ /khñom tɨw ɔh peel pii thŋay/ 'I went for two days' (ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' អស់ /ɔh/ 'to exhaust, use up' ពេល /peel/ 'time' ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day').

Nouns which are most commonly encountered as classifiers are:

កប្បាល	/kbaal/	copies of books, volumes; livestock
ខ្នង	/knɔɔŋ/	houses
គូ	/kuu/	pairs of things
គ្រាប់	/krɔ̆p/	pellets, grains, tablets, bullets
ម្រគឿង	/krɨəŋ/	machinery
ច្បាប់	/cbap/	copies of pamphlets, newspapers, magazines
ដើម	/daəm/	long, thin, sticklick objects
ដុំ	/dom/	pieces and lumps
ទួ	/tuo/	letters of the alphabet, vehicle bodies, characters in a play
នាក់	/nɨʔ/	ordinary people
ប្រដាប់	/prɔdap/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
ផ្ទៃ	/phaɛn/	disks
ម៉ាត់	/mat/	words, utterances, mouthfuls
រូប	/ruup/	pictures, shapes, forms, images, persons
សន្លឹក	/sɔnlɔk/	sheets of paper, leaves
សំរាប់	/sɔmrap/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
អង្គ	/ɔŋ/	monks, exalted people, images of Buddha

Before a classifier the number មួយ /muoy/ 'one' is reduced to /mə/ in normal speech, e.g. ស្រាមួយដប /sraa mɔ̆ɔp/ 'one bottle of liquor.' Other numbers are not affected.

In normal casual speech classifiers are omitted, except for នាក់ /nɨʔ/ 'person.' For some nouns, e.g. rooms and furniture, classifiers are almost never used. Use of classifiers is a signal of formal style; classifiers occur far more often in writing than in speech.

S.2.1.3 Word Order in the Noun Phrase

In contrast with the English noun phrase, in which the order of elements is fixed, there is considerable freedom in the Cambodian noun phrase. The primary restrictions on the Cambodian noun phrase are the following:

1. The demonstrative ('this, that') is normally the last element in a noun phrase, e.g. ឧទ្ធម្មៃដៃខ្ញុំពីរនេះ /khmaw day khñom pii nih/ 'these two pencils of mine' (ឧទ្ធម្មៃ /khmaw day/ 'pencil' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' ពីរ /pii/ 'two' នេះ /nih/ 'this'). Note that a phrase containing របស់ /rəbɔh/ 'property of' may either precede or follow the demonstrative, e.g.

ឧទ្ធម្មៃពីរនេះរបស់ខ្ញុំ /khmaw day pii nih rəbɔh khñom/

ឧទ្ធម្មៃពីររបស់ខ្ញុំនេះ /khmaw day pii rəbɔh khñom nih/

both of which mean 'these two pencils of mine.'

2. A pronoun in a noun phrase may not follow the number unless it occurs in the phrase របស់ /rəbɔh/ 'belonging to' plus pronoun, e.g.

/khmaw day pii nih rəbɔh khñom/ 'these two pencils of mine.'

3. Normally, but not necessarily, adjectives precede the number,[2] e.g. ឧទ្ធម្មៃដៃធំទៀងពីរនេះ/khmaw day thom lɨəŋ pii nih/ 'these two large yellow pencils' (ធំ /thom/ 'large' ទៀង /lɨəŋ/ 'yellow'). There is no restriction on the order of adjectives: ទៀងធំ /lɨəŋ thom/ 'yellow, big' is as acceptable as ធំទៀង /thom lɨəŋ/ 'big, yellow.'

S.2.2 Verb Phrases

The main type of construction in verb phrases in Cambodian is attribution. Verbal attributes occur following the main verb of a predicate or preceding it.

S.2.2.1 Postverbal Attribution

Attributes which follow a verb may be:

1. a verb

   a. an action verb, e.g. និយាយលេង/niyiey leeŋ/ 'to joke, to say in fun' (និយាយ /niyiey/ 'to speak' លេង/leeŋ/ 'to play') or ស្រួលធ្វើ /sruol thee/ 'easy to do' (ស្រួល/sruol/ 'easy' ធ្វើ /thee/ 'to make, to do').

   b. an adjective (stative verb), e.g. និយាយច្បាស់ /niyiey cbah/ 'speak clearly' (ច្បាស់ /cbah/ 'to be clear').

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2. When the number is followed by a classifier the adjectives must precede the number.

2. a noun, e.g. និយាយវិប្បវចី /niyiey voppəthôa/ 'talk using elevated style' (វិប្បវចី /voppəthôa/ 'culture').

It may be that the object of a verb can be considered an attribute also. In this case, in normal discourse a nominal attribute immediately follows the verb and is then followed by other modifiers, e.g. វានិយាយខ្មែរញាប់ /via niyiey khmaa ñôp/ 'he speaks Cambodian fast' (វា /via/ 'he, she, it, they,' ខ្មែរ /khmaa/ 'Cambodian' ញាប់ /ñôp/ 'rapidly'). Such an analysis would treat លាងដៃ /liaŋ day/ 'wash ones hands' (លាង /liaŋ/ 'to wash' ដៃ /day/ 'hand, arm') as the same kind of construction as ស្រួលខ្លួន /sruol khluon/ 'well, healthy' (ស្រួល /sruol/ 'easy, comfortable' ខ្លួន /khluon/ 'body'). If objects are treated as attributes of verbs, when there are two nominal attributes, the object is first, e.g. មើលកុនយប់ /məəl kon yup/ 'to watch movies at night' (មើល /məəl/ 'to look at' កុន /kon/ 'movie' យប់ /yup/ 'night').

When the verb occurs with an indirect object, e.g. ឲ្យ /aoy/ 'to give,' the situation is more complex. Here the order is:

ឲ្យ plus direct object plus indirect object plus quantifier, e.g. ឲ្យលុយខ្ញុំពីរ រៀល /aoy luy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels' (more literally: give me money to the extent of two riels'). (លុយ/luy/ 'money').

If any portion of this is deleted, the order of the remaining components remains the same. For example, if the direct object លុយ /luy/ 'money' is deleted, the resulting sequence is ឲ្យខ្ញុំពីររៀល /aoy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels,' but if the quantifier ពីររៀល /pii riel/ 'two riels' is deleted, the sequence is ឲ្យលុយខ្ញុំ /aoy luy khñom/ 'give me money.' You will have to be very careful with this construction, since your habit in English is to put a pronominal indirect object first, as you can see in the translations of the above examples, in which 'me' always follows the verb and precedes the direct object. In Cambodian the indirect object follows the verb only if the direct object has been deleted.

3. an indefinite, e.g. និយាយម៉េច /niyiey mec/ 'how is it said?' (ម៉េច /mec/ 'how, why').
4. an adverbial, e.g. និយាយធម្មតា /niyiey thammədaa/ 'to speak in an ordinary way' (ធម្មតា /thammədaa/ 'ordinarily').
5. a phrase, e.g. និយាយញាប់ជាងគេ /niyiey ñôp ciaŋ kee/ 'to speak fastest of all' (ញាប់ /ñôp/ 'rapid' ជាង /ciaŋ/ '(more) than' /kee/ 'they').

6. a clause, e.g. និយាយតាមគាត់បង្គាប់ /niyiey taam kɔ̂t bɔŋkɔ̂p/ 'to speak according to (how) he ordered' (តាម /taam/ 'according to, (following)' គាត់ /kɔ̂t/ 'he, she, they' បង្គាប់ /bɔŋkɔ̂p/ 'to order').

S.2.2.2 Preverbal Attribution

In preverbal attribution, a main verb may be modified by:

1. a verbal auxiliary (treated in greater detail at V.2.1), e.g. ត្រូវ /trɔw/ 'must.'
2. an adverb
   a. a negator, e.g. មិននិយាយ /mɨn niyiey/ 'didn't speak' (មិន /mɨn/ 'not').
   b. a preverbal adverb, e.g. ឆេះតែនិយាយ /cɛh tae niyiey/ 'always speaks' (ឆេះតែ /cɛh tae/ 'always').
3. a verbal
   a. an adjective, e.g. រវល់និយាយ /rəvɨl niyiey/ 'busy talking' (រវល់ /rəvɨl/ 'busy')
   b. an action verb, e.g. គិតនិយាយ /kɨt niyiey/ 'to plan, to speak' (គិត /kɨt/ 'to think, to plan').

S.2.2.3 Two-Part Verbs

There are two types of two-part verb constructions: resultative verbs and verbs followed by an attributive motion verb.

S.2.2.3.1 Resultative Verbs

A very frequent attribution pattern in Cambodian is to follow a main verb by another which describes its possibility, its state of completion, or its result, e.g. អានដាច់ /mɛal dac/ 'to be able to read, to have read, to have read' (អាន /mɛal/ 'to look at, to read' ដាច់ /dac/ 'to break apart').

This is not an ordinary case of a verb modifying a verb as described above in S.2.2.1, since in the case of an ordinary verb negation precedes the main verb, e.g. មិននិយាយលេង /mɨn niyiey leeŋ/ 'to not say in fun' (មិន /mɨn/ 'not' និយាយ /niyiey/ 'to speak' លេង /leeŋ/ 'to play'). However, in the case of a resultative verb, the negator

precedes the second verb, e.g. អាចមិនដាច់ /mɔɔl mɨn dac/ 'to be unable to read.'

Verbs which commonly occur in the second position in a resultative verb are:

1. ខាន /khaan/ 'to fail,' e.g. អូកមិនខាន/moɔ mɨn khaan/ 'will certainly come' (អូក /moɔ/ 'to come'). ខាន /khaan/ is generally used with a negative.
2. ឃើញ /khɛɛñ/ 'to see, catch sight of,' e.g. រកឃើញ /roɔ' khɛɛñ/ 'to find' (រក /roɔ'/ 'to look for').
3. ចប់ /cɔp/ 'to finish' e.g. រៀនចប់ /rien cɔp/ 'to finish studying' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
4. ចូល /coul/ 'to enter, go in; can' រៀនមិនចូល /rien mɨn coul/ 'can't learn' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
5. ចេញ /ceñ/ 'to go out,' e.g. គិតមិនចេញ /kɨt mɨn ceñ/ 'can't think of anything' (គិត /kɨt/ 'to think').
6. ចេះ /cah/ 'to know (how to)' e.g. រៀនមិនចេះ /rien mɨn cah/ 'to study without learning' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
7. a. ជាប់ /cɔɔp/ 'to stick; to win an election, to pass a test' e.g. ប្រឡងជាប់ /praloɔŋ cɔɔp/ 'to pass a test' (ប្រឡង/praloɔŋ/ 'to take a test'). The opposite of ប្រឡងជាប់ is ប្រឡងធ្លាក់ /praloɔŋ thlɔ'/ 'to fail a test' (ធ្លាក់ /thlɔ'/ 'to fall').
   b. ដាច់ /dac/ 'to break apart' e.g. អាចមិនដាច់ /mɔɔl dac/ 'to be able to read' (អាច /mɔɔl/ 'to read, to look at').
8. តាន់ /tɔn/ 'to catch up with, to be on time' e.g. ដើរមិនតាន់គាត់ /dae mɨn tɔn kɔt/ 'to walk but be unable to catch up with him' (ដើរ /dae/ 'to walk' គាត់ /kɔt/ 'he, she, they').
9. ធុំ /thum/ 'to smell' ហិតមិនធុំ /hɨt mɨn thum/ 'to be unable to smell' (ហិត /hɨt/ 'to sniff').
10. ធ្លាក់ /thlɔ'/ 'to fall' រុញធ្លាក់ /ruñ thlɔ'/ 'to push (it) off' (រុញ /ruñ/ 'to push').
11. បាន /baan/
    a. 'can, to be able' e.g. ប្រើបាន /praa baan/ 'can use (ប្រើ /praa/ 'to use')

b. 'to get, acquire' e.g. បាញ់មិនបានអ្វី /bañ mɨn baan ʔʌy/ 'went hunting and didn't get anything' (បាញ់ /bañ/ 'to shoot' អ្វី /ʔʌy/ 'anything'). When បាន /baan/ has this meaning it is normally used with an object.

12. ផុត /phot/ 'to get free of, clear of ' រំដើរផុត /dae phot/ 'to walk clear of' (រំដើរ /dae/ 'to walk').

13. រួច /ruoc/ 'to finish' ធ្វើរួច /thee ruoc/ 'to finish doing' (ធ្វើ /thee/ 'to do, to make').

14. លក់ /lɨ́ʔ/ 'to fall asleep,' e.g. ដេកលក់ /deek lɨ́ʔ/ 'to sleep soundly' (ដេក /deek/ 'to lie down, go to sleep, to sleep').

15. ស្រេច/srac/ 'to be ready, finished' ធ្វើស្រេច /thee srac/ 'to have done already.'

16. ឮ /lɨ̀ɨ/ 'to hear,' e.g. ស្តាប់មិនឮ /sdap mɨn lii/ 'can't hear' (ស្តាប់ /sdap/ 'to listen').

S.2.2.3.2 Attributive Motion Verbs

In many cases an action verb may be followed by an attributive motion verb from the following list:

ទៅ /tɨw/ 'go (away from speaker)'
ទៅចេញ /ceñ/ 'to go out'
ឡើង /laeŋ/ 'to ascend'
មក /mòo/ 'come'
ចូល /coul/ 'to enter'
ចុះ /coh/ 'to descend'

In some cases the attributive motion verb simply adds its meaning, e.g. អញ្ជើញចូលមក /ʔeñcəəñ coul mòo/ 'please come in' (អញ្ជើញ /ʔeñcəəñ/ 'please; to invite'). In this example ចូល /coul/ 'enter' is the main verb and មក /mòo/ 'come' is the attribute.

In some other cases the combination of verbs is idiomatic; that is, the whole is different from the sum of the parts. An example of such an idiom is អាប់ឡើង /chap laeŋ/ 'hurry up' (អាប់ /chap/ 'quick'). It happens that this idiom corresponds almost word for word to its English translation, but remember that in English 'hurry up' is an idiom too.

The motion verbs ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' and ចុះ /coh/ 'to descend' have also been frozen as imperative particles, e.g. និយាយចុះ /niyiey coh/ 'go ahead and say (it).' ទៅ /tɨw/ marks a command, e.g. អាន /miel tɨw/ 'read it;' ចុះ /coh/ usually has a connotation of giving permission. In time expressions /mɔ́o/ 'to come' gives a meaning of 'approaching the present from the past,' e.g. ក្រោយមក /kraoy mɔ́o/ 'later on (in the past),' while ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' gives a sense of extension into the future,[3] e.g. គេនឹងធ្វើដូចនោះទៅ /kee nɨŋ thee ɛ̃ncɛŋ tɨw/ 'they'll (go on) doing like that' (គេ /kee/ 'he, she, they' នឹង /nɨŋ/ 'will' ធ្វើ /thee/ 'to do' ដូចនោះ /ɛ̃ncɛŋ/ 'like that, thus').

S.2.2.4 Preverbal Word Order in the Verb Phrase

Normal preverbal word order in a verb phrase with only one main verb is:

preverbal adverb +	negator +	auxiliary +	attributive verb +	main verb
គាត់	ឧស្ដាហ៍	មិន	ចង់	ចាប់	រៀន
kɔ́t	cah taa	mɨn	coŋ	cap	rien
he	always	not	want	start	to study

'He never wants to start studying.'

Deletion of any of these elements does not affect the order; e.g. if មិន /mɨn/ 'not' is deleted, the sentence above is:

គាត់ឧស្ដាហ៍ចង់ចាប់រៀន ។

kɔ́t cahtaa coŋ cap rien

He always wants to start studying.

In literary style a preverbal adverb or auxiliary may occur before the subject, e.g.

ស្អែកគាត់មកទេឬអ្ត ?

trɔw via mɔ́o s'ak

must he come tomorrow

He must come tomorrow.

3. The word 'future' here is relative to a time indicated in the context, not necessarily to the time following the utterance.

This sentence is a literary variation of the more commonly used ត្រូវតែមកនៅស្អែក /via trəw mɔ̂o s'ɑ:k/ 'He must come tomorrow.'

In many cases there is more than one main verb, either because a set of coordinate events is described without coordinating relators or because a sequence of events is described by a sequence of verbs. An example of the first type is:

រុញ គាច ក្រវែង ក្រវត់ វៀ-វ៉ុត រ៉ុត-រៀ ឲ្យ រលាយ ពីលើ ផែនដី ។

ruñ tiəñ krɔvəəŋ-krɔvɔ̂t viey-vɔ̂t rɔ̂t-riey ɑoy roliey pii lɨ:ɨ phaendey

push pull jerk-across jerk-back hit jerk back-to whip break-up-cause melt from on earth.

Push them, pull them, jerk them back and forth, so they will disappear from the face of the earth.

In this example there are eight coordinate verbs (from រុញ /ruñ/ to រៀ /riey/) and two verbs in construction: ឲ្យ /ɑoy/ 'to give; cause' and រលាយ /roliey/ 'to melt.' Thus there are ten verbs stacked up, and to sort them out you need to know about Cambodian structure.

An example of the second type, in which the verbs appear in the sequence in which the actions they describe occur is the following:

គេ ហ៊ាន ដល់ រត់ ចូល មក បំផ្លាញ ឲ្យ ឆាប់ រហ័ស យន្តហោះ យើង ។

kee hian dɔl tɨw coul mɔ̂o bɑmphlañ ɑoy chap ch'ŋhɔh yəəŋ

they dare arrive go enter come destroy cause quick exhaust airplane we

they dared to arrive, enter, and quickly destroy all our airplanes.

In this example there are nine verbs, all in sequence. Note that they cannot all be translated into English.

This kind of construction may not seem so strange to you if you think of a construction like:

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which is perfectly acceptable English. Here there are eight nouns coming one after another. It happens that Cambodian does not stack nouns up like this, and English does not stack up verbs. But in both cases an elementary knowledge of grammar is sufficient to permit the learner to sort out the structure.

S.3 Clauses

In English most clauses have the structure subject-verb-object, with the possibility of an added topic before the subject, e.g. 'John, we saw him yesterday.' The majority of Cambodian clauses also have this structure (optional components in parentheses):

(topic) + (subject) + verb[4] + (object)

as well as assorted adverbials and auxiliaries discussed in detail elsewhere. An example of a clause with all the major components is:

កាសែតនេះគេលក់ច្រើនច្បាប់។
kasaɛt nih kee lɨ? craən cbap
newspaper this they sell many copy
This newspaper, they sell many copies.

If the topic has the same referent as another nominal in the clause, that nominal is either omitted, e.g.

ក្លុកនោះខ្ញុំស្អប់ណាស់។ (object omitted)
puo? nuh khñom s?op nah
group that I hate very
I really hate that bunch.

or else a pronoun replaces it:

ម្តាយខ្ញុំគាត់ស្លាប់ទៅយូរហើយ។ (pronoun subject)
mɗaay khñom kɔ̌t slap tɨw yuu haey
mother my she die (to) long-time already
My mother, she died a long time ago.

Dependent clauses also have this word order but do not usually include a topic. Attributive clauses are introduced either by ដែល /daɛl/'which, that' or by no word at all (cf. S.2.1.1.5), e.g.

4. Note that in the case of certain predicate nominative constructions, e.g. ថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃចន្ទ /thŋay nih thŋay can/'today is Monday' (ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/'day' ថ្ងៃចន្ទ /thŋay cən/ 'Monday') the copula may be realized by ∅; that is, the spoken or written sentence will have no verb.

សិស្ស(ដែល)ចេះខ្មែរមិនចាំបាច់រៀនទៀត ។

seh (dael) ceh khmae min bac rien tiet

student (who) know Cambodian not-need study further

Students who know Cambodian need not study any more.

The word ដែល /dael/ also means 'the one(s) that, 'e.g.

ដែលយើងត្រូវការយើងយកទៅ ។

dael yeeŋ troŋ-kaa yeeŋ yóo tɨw

ones-that we need we take to

The ones we need we'll take along.

In this position ដែលis obligatory; to omit it takes away the meaning of the sentence.

Another use for ដែល is in a predicate nominative type of construction in which there is no verb, e.g.

រឿងថ្មីៗ(រមីឈ)ដែលខ្ញុំឮនៅផ្ទះគេ ។

rɨeŋ mɨŋ (haey) dael khñom lɨɨ nɨw phtăh kee

story that (already) that I hear at house he/they

It was that story that I heard at his house.

This construction is particularly characteristic of literary style.

Adverbial clauses are introduced by appropriate clause relators. The most general of these is ដោយ /daoy/, which indicates that the action in the clause it introduces is a contributing factor to the action of the clause to which it is related, e.g.

គេដាក់ទោសទាន់ដោយឲ្យធ្វើបាបគ្រូ ។

kee da'-tooh via daoy via thee-baap kruu

they punish him given-that he mistreat teacher

They punished him for giving the teacher a hard time.

Other, more specific, clause relators, e.g. ការ/kaal/ 'when' or ព្រោះ/prŏh/ 'because,' are treated below at R.3.2.

Clauses which are embedded in other clauses as indirect discourse or as indirect

questions maintain the usual word order, e.g.

ការឆ្លើយថាម្ដាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន។
via chlaay thaa mdaay mɨn-tŏn sruol-khluon
he answer that mother not-yet well
He answered that his mother was not yet feeling well.

Here the embedded clause is ម្ដាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay mɨn tŏn sruol khluon/ '(His) mother is not yet feeling well.' When it is embedded it undergoes no change at all. In line with this absence of effect on the embedded clause, a topic can occur in the embedded clause with complete freedom. Thus, for instance, the embedded clause of the above example could as easily be ម្ដាយអ៊ី, គាត់មិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay via, kŏt mɨn tŏn sruol khluon/ 'His mother, she's not well yet.'

S.4 Sentences

A sentence consists of at least one clause. A sentence may be positive, negative, or interrogative. Characteristic of sentence level constructions are the indefinites, a group of words which are treated at the end of this section.

S.4.1 Sentence Composition

Clauses are combined into sentences by coordination, subordination, and embedding.

S.4.1.1 Coordination

Coordination of clauses is accomplished either by placing the coordinated clauses next to one another (parataxis) or by use of a clause relator.

An example of parataxis is:

ខ្យល់បក់ ស្លឹកឈើធ្លាក់។
khyɔl bɔ? slɛk chɛɛ thlɔ?
wind blow leaf tree fall
(when) the wind blows, the leaves fall.[5]

Only intonation and a slight pause indicate the boundary between the two clauses.

5. This first clause could also be subordinate in some contexts-cf. S.4.1.2.

There is a set of clause relators the members of which coordinate clauses (cf. R.3.1). The most important of those are ហើយ /haəy/ 'and,' ឬ /rɨɨ/ 'or,' ប៉ុន្តែ /pontaɛ/ or តែ /taɛ/ 'but,' and គឺ /kɨɨ/ 'that is to say.' For example:

ទាវធ្វើបាយ ហើយខ្ញុំសំអាតផ្ទះ។

via thəə baay haəy khñom sɑm?aat phteh

he make rice and I clean house

He cooks and I clean house.

S.4.1.2 Subordination

For the most part subordination is accomplished by a member of the set of clause relators treated below at R.3.2, e.g. ព្រោះ /prɔh/ 'because' or បើ /baə/ 'if.'

បើខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំទៅ។

baə khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

if I have money I go

If I have money, I'll go.

Adjacent clauses may form a sentence that can be translated into English with a subordinating conjunction; however the exact relation between the clauses can be determined only from context.

ខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំទៅ។

khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

I have money I go

If I have money, I'll go. (or 'When I have money,' or 'Because I have money.').

S.4.1.3 Embedding

Embedding occurs most frequently in relative clauses and indirect discourse. Relative clauses (cf. S.3 above) may be introduced by the word ដែល /daɛl/ but often are not. In indirect discourse the embedded phrase or clause is usually introduced by ថា /thaa/, which literally means 'to say' but before an indirect statement or question means 'that;' e.g.

គេប្រាប់ថាគាត់មកហើយ។
kee prap thaa kŏt mŏo haey
they tell that he come already
They told (me) he's come already.

The word ថា /thaa/ 'that' also precedes direct quotations, so that the above example could be translated 'they told (me) "He's come already." ' With ដឹង /dəŋ/ 'to know (a fact)' under certain circumstances ជា /cia/ is used instead of ថា /thaa/. Specifically, ជា /cia/ is used when the embedded clause has no subject and indicates that ដឹង /dəŋ/ is negative, e.g.

ខ្ញុំដឹងជារឺមួយមិនរឺមួយ។
khñom dəŋ cia tɨw rɨ́ mɨn tɨw tee
I know that go or not go (negation)
I don't know whether (he's) going.

In a positive sentence of this sort ជា /cia/ is not used; in a negative sentence either ជា /cia/ or ថា /thaa may occur, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងជារឺមួយមិនរឺមួយ។
khñom mɨn dəŋ cia tɨw rɨ́ mɨn tɨw tee
thaa
I not know that go or not go (negation)
I don't know if (he's) going or not.

If ថា /thaa/ is used in a negative sentence, a negator, e.g. មិន /mɨn/ 'not,' must precede ដឹង /dəŋ/; if ជា /cia/ is used, the negator is optional. When the embedded clause contains a subject, ដឹង /dəŋ/ must be followed by ថា /thaa/ whether positive or negative, e.g.

ខ្ញុំ(មិន)ដឹងថាគាត់រឺមួយមិនរឺមួយ។
khñom (mɨn) dəŋ thaa via tɨw rɨ́ mɨn tɨw tee
I (not) know that he go or not go (negation)
I (don't) know whether he's going or not.

Both ថា /thaa/ and ជា /cia/ may be omitted.

S.4.2 Sentence Types

Other than the ordinary positive type of sentence there are negative and interrogative sentences, much as in English.

S.4.2.1 Negative Sentences

Negation is accomplished by means of a negator particle (cf. A.2) ទេ /pum/, មិន /mɨn/, or ឥត /ʔɔt/ occurring before the main verb (cf. S.2.2.4 for a description of the position of the negator in the clause). More frequently than not at the end of the clause the final particle ទេ /teː/ is used, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ។
khñom mɨn dəŋ teː.
I not know (negation)
I don't know.

In the case of indirect discourse, ទេ /teː/ may either precede the embedded clause, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេថាគាត់មក។
khñom mɨn dəŋ teː thaa kaat mɔ́ɔ
I not know (negation) that he come
I didn't know he was coming.

or follows it:

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងថាគាត់មកទេ។
khñom mɨn dəŋ thaa kaat mɔ́ɔ teː.
I didn't know he was coming.

Other negator words which can also be used with /teː/ are មិនទាន់ /mɨn tɔ́n/ 'not yet,' មិនដែល/mɨn daɛl/ 'have never' and មិនបាច់/mɨn baɔ/ 'need not.' In all cases ទេ /pum/ or ឥត /ʔɔt/ can be substituted for មិន/mɨn/.

S.4.2.2 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogation is a somewhat more complex matter in Cambodian than is negation. There are basically two types of interrogation: alternation questions and information questions. Any question, whether direct or indirect, alternation or information, may be

preceded by the particle តើ /tae/, which announces that a question follows, e.g.

តើគាត់ដឹងទេ?	or ខ្ញុំសួរថាតើគាត់ដឹងទេ
tae via deŋ tee	khñom suo (thaa) tae via deŋ tee
question he know (negation)	I ask (that) (question) he know (negation)
Does he know?	I asked if he knows.

តើ /tae/ is never obligatory; it is used mostly in formal discourse.

S.4.2.2.1 Alternation Questions

An alternation question is asked by coordinating two alternatives by the clause relator ឬ /rɨɨ/ 'or,' e.g.

អ្នកអានសៀវភៅឬស្តាប់?
look meal rɨɨ sdap
sir read or listen
Are you reading or listening?

A special case of an alternation question is the kind that asks 'yes or no?', e.g.

អ្នកអានសៀវភៅឬមិនអានសៀវភៅ?
look meal rɨɨ min meal tee
sir read or not read (negation)
Are you reading or aren't you?

This sentence may be reduced to:

អ្នកអានសៀវភៅឬទេ?
look meal rɨɨ tee
are you reading or not?

with no meaning change, and still further reduced to:

អ្នកអានសៀវភៅទេ?
look meal tee
Are you reading?

This last is the normal form of a confirmation (yes-no) question; that is, the normal affirmative clause is followed by /tee/ and has rising intonation. Another reduction of

ឬទេ /rɨɨ teʔ/ is to ឬ /rɨɨ/. This also asks a confirmation question (cf. A.3.4g), e.g.

គេស្គាល់ធ្វើឬ?
kee cɑh thee rɨɨ?
they know-how do or
Do they know how to do it?

ឬ in this usage can also be a reduction of ឬអ្វី /rɨɨ ʔəy/ 'or what?'

Another case of an alternation question is the តើ...ឬនៅ/haey rɨɨ nɨw/ question that asks 'have...yet?', e.g.

តើលោកអើលចប់តើឬនៅ?
look meel cɔp haey rɨɨ nɨw
sir read finish already or not-yet
Have you finished reading (it) yet?

This kind of question can be reduced in casual speech to ឬនៅ /rɨnɨwʔ/.

S.4.2.2.2 Information Questions

An information question is one which asks for a specific point of information: who, what, which one, when, where why, how? For this a special set of words are used: អ្វី /ʔəy/ 'what?' ណា /naa/ 'which one?, where?' អង្កាល /ɔŋkaal/ 'when (non-past)?', ម៉ែច /mec/ (or ម្ដេច /mdec/) 'how?, why?' and ប៉ុន្មាន /pɔmaan/ 'how much?' From these words and other words are built the other members of the class of words that ask information questions (an asterisk precedes those which are not also members of the class of indefinites treated below at S.4.3) are used only in questions.

អ្នកណា	/nɨʔnaa/	'who'	from អ្នក	/nɨʔ/	'person'
ឯណា	/ʔaenaa/	'where'	ឯ	/ʔae/	'at'
កាលណា	/kaalnaa/	'when (non-past)'	កាល	/kaal/	'time'
* តើអង្កាល	/pii ɔŋkaal/	'when (past)'	តើ	/pii/	'from'
ហេតុអ្វី	/haet ʔəy/	'why?'	ហេតុ	/haet/	'reason'
យ៉ាងម៉ែច	/yaaŋ mec/	'how, why'	យ៉ាង	/yaaŋ/	'style, way'
ធ្វើអ្វី	/thee ʔəy/	'for what purpose'	ធ្វើ	/thee/	'to do, make'
* ម៉ែចក៏	/mec koo/	'why, how'	ក៏	/koo/	'medial particle' (cf. A.3.3)

In English when we ask a question we generally start the clause with the question word, e.g. 'whom did they see?' However, in Cambodian the word order in an interrogative sentence is exactly the same as that of the affirmative sentence to which it is related and which is its fullest answer. For example:

គេឃើញអ្នកណា?	is related to	គេឃើញសុខ។
kee khəən nɔ̆?naa		kee khəən sok
they see who		they see Sok
Whom did they see?		They saw Sok

In both cases the word order is subject-verb-object.

The following words may (but need not) occur in the sentence initially even though they are not the subject of the sentence: ពីរសង្កាល/(pii) ɔŋkaal/ 'when,' នេះហេតុ/mec/ 'how, why,' ឯណា/aʤnaa/ 'where,' កាលណា/kaalnaa/ 'when,' នេះហេតុអ្វី/hatʊ ʤy/ 'why,' យ៉ាងនេះហើយ/yaaŋ mec/ 'how, why.' For example:

ឯណាម្តាយគាត់?	or	ម្តាយគាត់(នៅ)ឯណា?
aʤnaa mdaay via?		mdaay via (nɨw) aʤnaa?
where mother he		mother he (at) where
Where's his mother?		Where's his mother?

One such word, នេះហេតុអី /mec koo/ always occurs clause initially, e.g.

នេះហេតុអីមិនរៀន?

mec-koo kee mɨn rien?

why they not study

Why aren't they studying?

The word អ្វី /ʤy/ 'what' (or colloquially, ស្អី /s'ʤy/) may be used attributively, e.g. ឡានអ្វី /laan ʤy/ 'what kind of car.' When it contrasts in this position with ណា /naa/ 'which (one),' ណា /naa/ means 'which specific, individual one,' and អ្វី /ʤy/ means 'what kind of.' For example, ឡានអ្វី /laan ʤy/ is 'what (kind of) car' but ឡានណា /laan naa/ is 'which car (of several cars we know about).'

S.4.3 Indefinites

In English we have a set of question words, e.g. who, what etc. In addition we have indefinite pronouns many of which are related to these question words, e.g. whomever, anything, nothing, no-one, wherever, etc. In Cambodian there is one set of words which do all the things English question words and indefinite words do.

There are five basic indefinites which combine with other words to form the full set of indefinites. The basic indefinites are listed below with the kinds of grammatical unit for which they substitute:

Indefinite	Substitutes for
អ្វី /ʔəy/ 'what, whatever, anything, nothing, none'	noun; attributive
ស្អី /s'ʔəy/ colloquial version of អ្វី /ʔəy/	noun; attributive
ណា /naa/ 'which, whichever, any, not anywhere, wherever, anywhere, nowhere	attributive noun indicating location
អង្កាល /ʔəŋkaal/ 'when, whenever'	noun indicating time
ម៉េច /mec/ 'how, why, however, any way, in no way'	clause;phrase
ម៉ិច /mɨc/ is a more formal version of ម៉េច/mec/	
ប៉ុន្មាន /pɔmaan, pɔnaan/ 'how much, however much, any amount'	a quantity

Compound indefinites (cf. also S.4.2.2.2) combine a basic indefinite and another word to make a compound which occurs in the same syntactic positions as the basic indefinites. Compound indefinites are:

អ្នកណា /nɨʔnaa/ 'who, whoever, anyone, no one'	noun designating a person
ឯណា /ʔaenaa/ 'where, wherever, anywhere, nowhere'	noun designating a place
កាលណា/kaal naa/ 'when, whenever, at any time, at no time'	noun designating a time
ហេតុអ្វី /hetʊ ʔəy/ 'why, for whatever reason, for any reason, for no reason'	clause
ធ្វើអ្វី /thee ʔəy/ 'for what purpose, for whatever purpose, for any purpose, for no purpose'	clause
យ៉ាងម៉េច/yaaŋ mec/ 'how, why; however, whyever, any way, for any reason, no way, for no reason'	clause
ប៉ុនណា /pennaa/ 'how big, what size'	noun or demonstrative indicating size

Examples of uses of indefinites follow, arranged according to their English translation. In most cases examples are based on /nɨ̆ʔnaa/ 'who, etc.'

who

ស្អកណាចង់ទៅ?
nɨ̆ʔnaa coŋ tɨw?
who want go
Who wants to go?

everyone

ស្អកណាក៏ដឹងដែរ។
nɨ̆ʔnaa koo deŋ daɛ
who (particle) know also
Everyone knows (that).

no-one, not anyone

ខ្ញុំមិនស្គាល់អ្នកណានៅទីនេះទេ។
khñom mɨn skɔ̆l nɨ̆ʔnaa nɨw nih tee
I not know who at this (negation)
I don't know anyone here.

whoever, anyone who

អ្នកណានេះ អ្នកហ្នឹងត្រូវធ្វើ។
nɨ̆ʔnaa neh nɨ̆ʔ nɨŋ trɨw thee
who know-how person that must do
Whoever knows how to do it must do it.

someone (who)

ខ្ញុំត្រូវការ.. អ្នកណា(ដែល)ចេះ។
khñom trɨw kaa nɨ̆ʔnaa (daɛl) ceh
I need who (that) know-how
I need someone who knows how.

anyone

អ្នកណាក៏បាន។
nɨ̆ʔnaa koo baan
who (particle) o.k.
Anyone will do; anyone is o.k.

someone

ប្រហែលខ្ញុំស្គាល់អ្នកណានៅឯណោះ។

prohaɛl khñom skɔ̂l nɨʔnaa nɨw nɨn

maybe I know who at that

Maybe I know someone there.

(But equally often 'someone' is translated នរ /kee/, អ្នកណាម្នាក់/nɨʔnaa manʔ/, មនុស្សម្នាក់/manuh manʔ/, or just ម្នាក់/manʔ/.)

however many

រកចាប់ត្រីបានតាំងប៉ុន្មានលក់តាំងប៉ុណ្ណឹង។

kee cap trəy baan tɛ̂ŋ pɔmaan lɨʔ tɛ̂ŋ pɔnnɨŋ

they catch fish get all how-many sell all that-much

However many fish they catch they sell (they sell all the fish they catch).

as much as

ញុំប៉ុន្មានក៏បានដែរ។

ñam pɔmaan koo baan daɛ

eat/drink how-much (particle) can also

You can drink as much as you like.

Word Classes

Introduction

Cambodian words can be divided into four major classes on the basis of the other words they occur with (syntactic criteria) and on the basis of internal similarities between members of the same class (morphological criteria). The four classes are:

1. Nominals: words which can serve only as subject but not as predicate of a major clause.[1]

2. Verbals: words which may serve either as predicate or as subject of a major clause.

3. Adverbials: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which do not connect any two units.

4. Relators: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which connect two phrases or two clauses.

1. There are minor clause types in which a noun serves as predicate.

Nominals

There are three types of nominal in Cambodian: pronouns, demonstratives, and nouns.

N.1 Pronouns

Cambodian can use either a pronoun or a noun in positions where English uses a pronoun. Where pronouns are used, they are not inflected; that is, they do not indicate person, number, gender, or case. However, where there is more than one pronoun corresponding to one English word, the relative age or status of the speaker and the addressee or the person to whom a third-person pronoun refers will determine the choice of pronoun.

N.1.1 First Person

N.1.1.1 Singular

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the usual and most neutral first person singular pronoun. A foreign speaker can safely use ខ្ញុំ in almost all circumstances. (Originally ខ្ញុំ meant 'servant, slave' and as a noun still has this meaning, though it usually occurs in construction with another word as a noun, e.g. ខ្ញុំបម្រះ/khñom bɑmrɑɑ/ 'servant.')

អញ /añ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate with the speaker, much younger, or of inferior social status. The corresponding second person form is ឯង /ɑeŋ/ 'you.'

ក្នុង /knia/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker.

ខ្ញុយ /yeeŋ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker. It is used mostly in Phnom Penh, especially among girls from the upper classes. In writing ខ្ញុយ /yeeŋ/ is also used to represent 'I' when a god speaks.

អាត្មា /aatɑmaa/ or អាត្មាអាក្រាត /aatɑmaaphiap/ 'I' is used by a Buddhist monk.

ខ្ញុំបាទ /khñom baat/ 'I' is used by a man to show deference.

នាងខ្ញុំ /nian khñom/ 'I' is used by a woman to show deference.

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា /khñom (prɔh) kɔrunaa/ is used by a layman when speaking to a monk or to someone of royal blood.

N.1.1.2 Plural

យើង /yeəŋ/ 'we' This is the general, neutral form.

យើងខ្ញុំ /yeəŋ khñom/ 'we' Another generally used form.

ខ្ញុំកុំណានាំងព្រាយ /khñom kɔrunaa tɔ̃ŋ laay/ 'we' This is used by laymen addressing a Buddhist monk or person of royal blood.

Titles and appropriate kinship terms are also used to refer to oneself, e.g. ប្អូនមិនដឹងទេ /p'oun mɨn dəŋ tee/ is literally 'younger sibling doesn't know' but in some contexts means 'I don't know,' if the speaker has a relation to the addressee such that the speaker could be addressed as ប្អូន /p'oun/ 'younger sibling.'

N.1.2 Second Person

ឯង /aəŋ/ is used with an intimate, much younger, or socially inferior addressee. Singular ឯង corresponds to the first person form អញ្ញ /añ/.

In all other cases the person's name, his title, or a kinship noun appropriate to his age and status is the appropriate form of address. The ways of addressing and referring to people using nouns rather than pronouns is discussed below at U.3. However, some examples are given below:

លោកគ្រូ /look kruu/ 'teacher' used with one's male teacher (female equivalent: អ្នកគ្រូ /nɨ' kruu/ 'teacher').

ពូ /puu/ 'uncle (younger than one's parent)' used with a male of similar or lower social status who is of the same age as one's parents or a little younger. (female equivalent: មីង /miiŋ/ 'younger aunt').

សុខ /sok/ or សុខឯង /sok aəŋ/ 'Sok' (a name) used with contemporaries, juniors, and inferiors. Used with members of either sex.

N.1.3 Third Person

There is no number distinction in Cambodian third-person pronouns; all of them may have one or many referents.

គាត់ /kɔ̆t/ is used to refer to individuals, especially those whom one respects.

It would not be used to refer to one's juniors or social inferiors. It must be used in referring to one's parents, older relatives, teachers, etc. A wife normally refers to her husband as បង /boŋ/.

គេ /kee/ is used for casual acquaintances, people whose relationship to the speaker is distant, people of uncertain identity, people to whom one is fairly close, and one's juniors. It is also the form used for impersonal expressions in which 'they' is used in English, e.g. គេថា /kee thaa/ 'they say.' You will be tempted to use គាត់ /kɔ̆t/ for 'he/she' and គេ /kee/ for 'they' because of your English habits, but remember that the important thing in Cambodian is not number but relationship between speaker and referent.

វា /via/ is used to refer to things, animals, small children (especially one's own), intimates, and social inferiors. It is also used, especially in casual speech, as an expletive like 'it' in English 'it is hot,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំថាវាក្តៅណាស់។

khñom thaa via kdaw nah

'I say it's very hot.'

Literary style however, does not use this expletive វា and you should probably avoid it until you have a good idea of the kinds of circumstances in which it is used, since they will not necessarily conform to English usage.

As was the case in the second person, titles, kinship terms, and names can be used where English would use a third-person pronoun. For example: បងទៅសាលារៀនហើយ /boŋ tɨw saalaa haey/ can mean 'He has gone to school already' (បង /boŋ/ in fact means 'older sibling' but in appropriate contexts can be used where English would use a pronoun).

The normal translations of 'he, they' for Buddhist monks are លោក/look/ 'sir, lord' or ព្រះអង្គ /prəh ɔŋ/ '(holy) body.'

Pronoun usage is also discussed in the chapter on Vocabulary and Usage.

N.2 Demonstratives

The three most common Cambodian demonstratives នេះ /nih/ នោះ/nuh/, and

នេះ /nih, nəŋ/[2] are used both: 1) as attributes, e.g. ឡានេះ /laan nih/ 'this car' and 2) alone, e.g. នោះជារឿងធំហើយ /nuh cia rɨəŋ thom haey/ 'that is a grave matter.' Following a locative word like នៅ /niw/ 'at' the demonstratives mean 'here, there,' e.g.

នៅនេះមានមនុស្សច្រើនពេក

niw nih mian mənuh crəən pek

'There are too many people here.'

In meaning នេះ /nih/ corresponds well to English 'this' and នោះ /nuh/ to 'that,' but នេះ /nih/ may be translated either 'this' or 'that' depending on the context in which it occurs. In fact the meaning of នេះ /nih/ is something like 'the one I'm talking about, the one under discussion,' e.g.

នេះហើយ។

nih haey

'That's it; yes.'

នោះ /nuh/ and នេះ /nih/ may be used in casual style at the end of a verb phrase to indicate that the action is going on at the time of speaking, much like English 'there' in:

ឯណាក៏ឯងនៅនេះ?

look thee oy nih

'What are you doing there?'

Less common demonstratives are: ណោះ /nɔ́ɔ/ 'yonder, over there,' which has a kind of pointing connotation, and ណុង /nɔŋ/ which has the same meaning as នេះ /nih/ but is limited to spoken usage; it is not characteristic of written usage.

N.3 Nouns

In English, nouns are inflected for number (singular vs. plural), e.g. boy, boys, and in many European languages they are inflected not only for number, but for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) and case (nominative, genitive, dative, etc.) as well. However, in Cambodian nouns are not inflected at all; a noun keeps the same form no matter what its

2. /nih/ is Phnom Penh pronunciation.

syntactic environment. Thus a noun like សៀវភៅ /sephiw/ means either 'book' or 'books.' Generally the context in which the noun is used is sufficient to make the number clear if such clarity is necessary.

To be sure, while nouns are not inflected, there do exist ways of specifying such common Indo-European categories as number. For instance, the word សៀវភៅ/sephiw/ 'book' can be followed by the word ខ្លះ /khlah/ 'some' to make an indefinite plural 'some books, books' (but note that English 'the books' would never be translated as សៀវភៅ ខ្លះ /sephiw khlah/). Another pluralizer is ទាំងឡាយ /tɛ̆ŋ laay/, which pluralizes definite nouns, e.g. សៀវភៅ ទាំងឡាយ/sephiw tɛ̆ŋ laay/ ' the books.' Likewise gender can be ascribed by following the noun by the appropriate word. ប្រុស /proh/ '(human) male.' ស្រី /srəy/ '(human) female,' ឈ្មោល/chmool/ '(animal) male' ញី /ñii/ '(animal) female. For example:

សិស្សប្រុស	/smien proh/ 'a male secretary'
ទាញី	/tia ñii/ 'female duck'

Case relations (actor, goal, location, etc.) are expressed by paraphrastic or syntactic means, e.g.

ខ្ញុំនឹងឲ្យលុយគាត់។

khñom ŋoy luy kɔ̆t

I'll give him some money.

in which ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the agent, លុយ /luy/ 'money' is direct object, and គាត់ /kɔ̆t/ 'him' is indirect object. These functions are all determined by the positions of the three nominals relative to the verb ឲ្យ /ŋoy/ 'give' and to each other.

There are three types of noun with respect to composition: root nouns, complex nouns, and compound nouns. Root nouns cannot be analyzed into any smaller meaningful components, e.g. ឆ្កែ /chkae/ 'dog,' កាសែត/kasaet/ 'newspaper.' Complex nouns include at least one prefix or infix, e.g. បង្កើត/bɔŋkaet/ 'to originate' (/bɔŋ-/ 'causative prefix' + /kaet/ 'to be born, arise') or សំណួរ /sɑmnuo/ 'question' (/suo/ 'to ask' + /-mn-/ 'nominalizing infix.') A compound noun is a noun composed of at least two other words, which if they are nouns may in turn be either root nouns or complex nouns, e.g. កិច្ចការ/keckaa/ 'matter' កិច្ច (kec/ 'matter, affair' + /kaa/ 'work, matter') or សំណួរ-ចម្លើយ /sɑmnuo-cɑmlaay/ 'questions and answers' (/sɑmnuo/ 'question' + /cɑmlaay/ 'answer').

N.3.1 Complex Nouns

In most cases, complex nouns are derivatives of root nouns. That is, both the root noun and the complex noun are members of a group of words which are related in both form and meaning, e.g.

កើត /kaət/ 'to be born'
ខែ /khaət/ 'period of the waxing moon'
កំណើត /kɔmnaət/ 'birth, origin'
បង្កើត /bɔŋkaət/ 'to found, to originate'[3]

all of which are formally related by the sharing of the phoneme sequence /kaət/ and semantically related by the idea of birth, rising and the like. With exceptions as noted below, these affixes are not fully productive; that is, you cannot freely add an affix to a root noun (or any other kind of base) to get a noun that is acceptable to native speakers or which bears the same semantic relation to the root word as the model on which you made your analogy. This means that you will have to learn derivatives as separate vocabulary items, but the similarities between members of a derivative group like the កើត /kaət/ group above may help you recognize and learn new words faster.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex nouns.[4]

N.3.1.1 Prefixes

1. បុ- /bɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. បន្ទុក /bɔntuk/ 'a load' from ទុក /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.' Note that this prefix is pronounced as follows:

a. /bɔm/ before /p,b/, e.g. បំពង់ /bɔmpɓ?/ 'upper garment' from ពង់/pɓ?/ 'to wear above the waist.'

b. /bɔn/ before /t, d, s, l/, e.g. បន្ទុក /bɔntuk/ 'a load' from ទុក /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.'

3. These examples are taken from Huffman 1967 p.66.

4. I am indebted to Huffman 1967 for much of the basis of the following treatment of prefixes and infixes; a fuller treatment of this aspect of Cambodian grammar may be found in his work.

c. */bɔñ/ before /c/ (there are no nominal examples for this rule, but verbs with the prefix បង់ /bɔŋ-/ follow it (cf. V.3.2.1 (8) below)).

d. /bɔŋ/ elsewhere, e.g. បង្កាន់ /bɔŋkan/ 'handle, railing' from កាន់/kan/ 'to hold.'

2. ប្រ /pro-/ 'nominalization of root verb;' e.g. ប្រវែង /provaeŋ/ 'length' from វែង /vaeŋ/ 'long.'

3. ព្រះ /prəh-/ (in fast speech /prə-/) 'sacred, royal' e.g. ព្រះអាទិត្យ /prəh aatɨt/ 'the sun' from អាទិត្យ/aatɨt/ 'sun, week.' The word ព្រះis used frequently with words relating to royalty. It is productive.

4. ម៉ /me-/ from មួយ /muoy/ 'one,' e.g. ម៉្យាង /meyaaŋ/ 'one kind of' from យ៉ាង /yaaŋ/ 'kind'

5. សង់ /sɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. សង្កាត់ /sɔŋkat/ 'sector, quarter' from កាត់ /kat/ 'to cut.' This prefix follows the same pronunciation rule as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

6. អង់ /ɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. អំបោស/ɔmbaoh/ 'broom' from បោស/baoh/ 'to sweep.' This prefix follows the same rules as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

7. អា /aa-/ with adjectives and demonstratives means 'the...one,' e.g. អាតូច /aa touc/ 'the small one' from តូច /touc/ 'small.' With nouns, names, and pronouns it has a diminutive, derogatory, or intimate meaning, e.g. អាផាឡា /aaphaalaa/, Phala (a name) (used with a child or inferior). This prefix is productive.

N.3.1.2 Infixes

The infixes are not given below in Cambodian script, since they will ordinarily be represented by a subscript consonant form or sub-syllabic vowel-consonant sequence. However, the examples are supplied in script as well as in transcription.

1. /-b-/ 'nominalization of root verb,' e.g. លឿន/lbɨən/ 'speed' from ឿន/lɨən/ 'fast.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the derivative begins with the syllable /ro/, e.g. រាំ /robam/ 'dance (n.)' from រាំ /rɔm/ 'to dance.'

2. /-n-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ខ្នែត /khnaet/ 'period of waxing moon' from កែត /kaet/ 'to be born.' If the root verb begins with /d/ the derivative begins with /t/ (transliterated th); if the root verb begins with /b/, the derivative begins with /p/ (transliterated ph), e.g. ធ្នាល់ /thnaol/ 'punting pole' from ដាល /daol/ 'to punt' or ផ្នែក /phnaek/ 'a piece' from បែក /baek/ 'to shatter.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the first syllable of the derivative is /ro/, e.g. រនាស៌ /ronɔh/ 'a rake' from រាស៌ /rɔh/ 'to rake.'

3. /-amn-/ 'nominalization of root verb.' This infix takes two forms; /-am-/ occurs in cases where the base begins with a consonant sequence, e.g. សម្លរ /samloo/ 'stew' from ស្លរ /sloo/ 'to stew.' However, if the base begins with a single consonant, the infix takes the form /-amn-/, e.g. សំណួរ /samnuo/ 'question' from សួរ /suo/ 'to ask.' In some cases the vowel of the infix is /u/ (/-um-/, /-umn-/), e.g. លំអ /lum?oo/ 'beauty' from ល្អ /l?oo/ 'good, pretty' or ជម្ងឺ /cumnɨɨ/ 'illness' from ឈឺ /chɨɨ/ 'sick, ill.' Base initial /p,t/ become /b,d/ before this infix.

In a few cases the base is a root noun, e.g. ជំនាន់ /cumnɔ́n/ 'generation, era' from ជាន់ /cɔ́n/ 'floor, stratum.'

4. /-aŋ-/ 'nominalization of root verb; e.g. សម្បថ /sambot/ 'oath' from ស្បថ /sbot/ 'to swear.' In cases where the root verb begins with /p/ or /t/, (often transliterated ph and th, respectively), the derivative begins with /baŋ-/ or /daŋ-/ respectively, e.g. បន្ទំម /baŋ'am/ 'dessert' from ផ្ទែម /ph?aam/ 'sweet' or ដំបាញ /dambaañ/ 'weaving' from /tbaañ/ 'to weave.' This infix takes the form /-ún-/ in ពន្លឺ /pún lɨɨ/ 'light' from ភ្លឺ /plɨɨ/ 'to be light.' Note that this infix is pronounced as follows;

សម៉(ា) /-am-/ before /b, p/

សន់ /-an-/ before /d, t, l/

សញ/-añ-/ before /c/

សង់ /-aŋ-/ elsewhere

In many cases affixation is accompanied by a change in the quality of the vowel, e.g. ល្បែង /lbaɛŋ/ 'game' from លេង/leeŋ/ 'to play.' Instances of this vowel quality change are not predictable and must be learned for each set of words individually.

N.3.2 Compound Nouns

Almost all Cambodian compounds can be analyzed as consisting of two parts; these parts can then be subdivided further in some cases. There are two types of compound. Uncentered compounds[5] are those in which neither element of the compound is modified by the other. In centered compounds[5] one element is modified by the other.

N.3.2.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are three types of uncentered compound nouns: reduplicative, coordinate, and appositive.

N.3.2.1.1 Reduplicative Compounds

Reduplicative compounds consist of repetition of a base noun, e.g. ក្មេងៗ /kmeeŋkmeeŋ/ 'children' from ក្មេង /kmeeŋ/ 'child.' A reduplicated compound is plural in meaning and often refers to the noun in a general sense, e.g.

ស្រីៗសុទ្ធតែបែបនោះ
srɤysrɤy ɑ̃ɛɛn haɤy
Women are like that. (ស្រី /srɤy/ 'woman.')

N.3.2.1.2 Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consist of two or three base nouns. Normally this kind of compound refers to a class of objects or persons of which the components are members, e.g. ខោអាវ /khao aav/ 'clothing' from ខោ /khao/ 'pants' and អាវ /aav/ 'shirt,' or តុទូកៅអី /tok tuu kaw?ɤy/ 'furniture' from តុ /tok/ 'table,' ទូ /tuu/ 'cabinet,' កៅអី/kaw?ɤy/ 'chair.'

5. These two terms are adapted from Huffman 1967.

N.3.2.1.3 Appositive Compounds

Appositive compounds are nouns whose first component is a title (including kinship terms) and whose second component is a name or other identifying noun, e.g. លោកគ្រូ/look kruu/ 'teacher' from លោក/look/ 'sir, mister' and គ្រូ 'teacher' or បងគឹម /boɔŋ kim/ គឹម 'Kim' from បង /boɔŋ/ 'older sibling' and គឹម /kim/ a name of someone (who is called បង /boɔŋ/ because he is somewhat older than the speaker, with whom he is on intimate terms, or who is of inferior social status).

N.3.2.2 Centered Compounds

There are two types of centered compound: full centered compounds and pseudo-compounds.[6] The components of full centered compounds occur alone as words; in the case of pseudocompounds one or both components may be bound (i.e. do not occur alone).

N.3.2.2.1 Full Centered Compounds

The heads of all full centered compounds are nouns, and the compounds themselves are nouns. The modifier portion of the compound may be:

1. a verb, e.g. បន្ទប់គេង /ptup keeŋ/ 'bedroom' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room' and គេង /keeŋ/ 'to sleep.'
2. a noun, e.g. បន្ទប់ទឹក /ptup tɨk/ 'bathroom' from បន្ទប់/ptup/ 'room' and ទឹក /tɨk/ 'water.'
3. a verb and object, e.g. បន្ទប់ទទួលភ្ញៀវ /ptup tətuol phñiew/ 'living room' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room,' ទទួល/tətuol/ 'to receive,' and ភ្ញៀវ /phñiew/ 'guest.'

In most cases the head of the compound comes first, as in all the above examples. An example of a compound whose second part can be considered to be the head is ដើមឈើ /daam chee/ ឈើ 'tree' from ដើម /daam/ 'something long and thin, stem' and ឈើ /chee/ 'wood.' (An argument can also be made that ដើម /daam/ is the head of the compound and not ឈើ /chee/.) In many cases where both elements of the compound are borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali, the

6. Term from Huffman 1967 p. 120

head comes second, e.g. ភាសាវិជ្ជា /phiasaa-viccia/ 'the study of language' from ភាសា /phiasaa/ 'language' and វិជ្ជា /viccia/ 'study, knowledge.' The most common nouns serving as heads of full centered compounds are the following (arranged according to Cambodian alphabetic order). They are all productive.

1. កម្ម /kam/ 'action,' e.g. កម្មវិធី /kam-vithii/ 'program' from វិធី /vithii/ 'occasion, ceremony.'

2. ការ /kaa/ 'matter, work' used:

   a. with verbs, e.g. ការរកស៊ី /kaa-rɔ̆ʔ-sii/ 'earning a living' from រកស៊ី /rɔ̆ʔ-sii/ 'to earn a living,' រក /rɔ̆ʔ/ 'to seek,' ស៊ី /sii/ 'to eat.'

   b. with nouns, e.g. ការរដ្ឋការ /kaa-rɔ̆ttəkaa/ 'government work' from រដ្ឋការ /rɔ̆ttəkaa/ 'civil service.'

3. កិច្ច /kec/ 'matter, affair;' e.g. កិច្ចការ /kec-kaa/ 'matter, business' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, matter.'

4. ខាង /khaaŋ/ 'side, area (e.g. of study),' e.g. ខាងលើ /khaaŋ-lee/ 'above' from លើ /lee/ 'on, above,' or ខាងវិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /khaaŋ-vicciasah/ 'in the area of science' from វិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /vicciasah/ 'science.'

5. គ្រឿង /krɨəŋ/ 'tool, part, component,' e.g. គ្រឿងម៉ាស៊ីន /krɨəŋ-masɨn/ 'machine parts and engines.'

6. ដំណើរ /dəmnae/ 'gait; process; trip,' e.g. ដំណើរការរកស៊ី /dəmnae-rɔ̆ʔ-sii/ 'process of earning a living' from រកស៊ី /rɔ̆ʔ-sii/ 'to earn a living.'

7. ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day,' e.g. ថ្ងៃបុណ្យ /thŋay-bon/ 'holiday' from បុណ្យ /bon/ 'holiday, ritual.'

8. ទឹក /tɨk/ 'liquid, water,' e.g. ទឹកក្រូច /tɨk-krouc/ 'orange juice' from ក្រូច /krouc/ 'citrus, orange.'

9. ទី /tii/ 'place,' e.g. ទីក្រុង /tii-kroŋ/ 'city' from ក្រុង /kroŋ/ 'city, town' or ទីគោរព /tii-koorup/ 'object of respect' from គោរព /koorup/ 'to respect.'

10. បន្ទប់ /bəntup, ptup, ktup/ 'room,' e.g. បន្ទប់គេង /bəntup-keek/ 'bedroom' from គេង /keek/ 'to sleep.'

11. ប្រដាប់ /prɔdap/ 'tool, equipment,' e.g. ប្រដាប់ភ្លេង /prɔdap-phleeŋ/ 'musical instrument' from ភ្លេង /phleeŋ/ 'music.'

12. ផ្ទះ /phtéh/ 'house, place of - ,' e.g. ផ្ទះលក់បាយ /phtéh-lɨ?-baay/ 'restaurant' from លក់ /lɨ?/ 'to sell' and បាយ /baay/ 'cooked rice; a meal.'

13. ពណ៌ /pɔ́a/ 'color,' e.g. ពណ៌ស្វាយ /pɔ́a-swaay/ 'purple' from ស្វាយ /swaay/ 'purple.'

14. ភាព /phiap/ 'state,' e.g. ភាពយន្ត/phiap-yún/ 'moving picture' from យន្ត /yún/ 'machine, engine, vehicle.'

15. នី /nii/

a. 'female,' e.g. នីគោ/nii-koo/ 'cow (opposed to a bull)' from គោ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'

b. 'leader, chief' e.g. នីពលអាកាស /nii-tɔhian/ 'officer (military)' from ពលអាកាស /tɔhian/ 'soldier; military.'

16. ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ 'owner, master,' e.g. ម្ចាស់ផ្ទះ /mcah-phtéh/ 'landlord, host' from ផ្ទះ /phtéh/ 'house.'

17. រោង /rooŋ/ 'large building for a specific function,' e.g. រោងចក្រ /rooŋ-ca?/ 'factory' from ចក្រ /ca?/ 'wheel.'

18. លទ្ធិ /latti?/ 'philosophical system,' e.g. លទ្ធិសង្គមនិយម /latti?-sɑŋkumniyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គមនិយម /sɑŋkumniyum/ 'socialist.'

19. វិជ្ជា /wiccia/ 'knowledge, study of,' e.g. វិជ្ជាពេទ្យ/wiccia-pɛɛt/ '(study of) medicine' from ពេទ្យ /pɛɛt/ 'medicine, doctor, hospital.'

20. វិធី /vithii, pithii/ 'occasion, event, ceremony,' e.g. វិធីបំពាក់សក្តិ /vithi-bampɔ́?-sa?/ 'promotion ceremony' from បំពាក់ /bampɔ́?/ 'to put on (trans.)' and សក្តិ /sa?/ 'rank.'

21. សាច់ /sac/ 'meat, flesh' e.g. សាច់គោ /sac-koo/ 'beef' from គោ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'

22. សាលា /saalaa/ 'school, hall,' e.g. សាលារៀន /saalaa-rien/ 'school' from រៀន /rien/ 'to study.'

23. រឿងក្តី /sec-kdɛy/ 'matter, affair,' e.g. រឿងក្តីស្លាប់ /sec-kdɛy-slap/ 'death' from ស្លាប់ /slap/ 'to die.'

24. ស្ថាន, ឋាន /sthaan, thaan/ 'place,' e.g. ស្ថានទូត /sthaan-tuut/ 'embassy' from ទូត /tuut/ 'diplomat, diplomatic.'

25. អ្នក /nɔ́ʔ/ 'person, human being,' e.g. អ្នកនេសាទ្រី /nɔ́ʔ-neesaat-trəy/ 'fisherman' from នេសាទ /neesaat/ 'to fish' and ត្រី /trəy/ 'fish,' or អ្នករដ្ឋការ /nɔ́ʔ-rɔ́ttəkaa/ 'civil servant' from រដ្ឋការ /rɔ́ttəkaa/ 'government, civil service.'

The following are common heads of full centered compounds which have variants used only in compounds and never alone. The transcriptions of the bound variants follow those of the independent ones.

1. ព្រះ /prɔh, prɔhlɔ-/ 'Buddha,' e.g. ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា /prɔhlɔ-putthə-sahsnaa/ 'Buddhism' from សាសនា /sahsnaa/ 'religion.'

2. ពល /pŭl, pŭllə-/ 'the people (force),' e.g. ពលរដ្ឋ /pŭllərɔ́t/ 'citizenry' from រដ្ឋ /rɔ́t/ 'state.'

3. ភូមិ /phuum, phuumi-/ 'place, region,' e.g. ភូមិភាគ /phuumi-phiaʔ/ 'region' from ភាគ /phiaʔ/ 'part.'

4. យន្ត /yŭn, yŭntə/ 'motor, engine,' e.g. យន្តហោះ /yŭn-hɔh/ 'airplane' from ហោះ /hɔh/ 'to fly.'

5. យាន /yian, yianə/ 'vehicle,' e.g. យានដ្ឋាន /yianə-thaan/ 'garage' from ដ្ឋាន /thaan/ 'place.'

6. យុទ្ធ /yut, yuttə/ 'fighting, struggle,' e.g. យុទ្ធជន /yuttə-cŭn/ 'fighter' from ជន /cŭn/ 'person.'

7. យុវ /yuvɔ́ʔ, yuvə/ 'youth, young person,' e.g. យុវជន /yuwə-cŭn/ 'youth' from ជន /cŭn/ 'person.'

8. រដ្ឋ /rɔ́t, rɔ́ttə/ 'state,' e.g. រដ្ឋការ /rɔ́ttə-kaa/ 'government, civil service' from ការ /kaa/ 'word, affair.'

9. រាជ /riac, riaccə/ 'king, royal,' e.g. រាជការ /riac-kaa, riaccə-kaa/ 'government' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, affair.'

10. ឯក /ʔɛk, ʔɛkkə/ 'one, single, highest,' e.g. ឯកជន /ʔɛkkə-cŭn/ 'private (public)' from ជន /cŭn/ 'person.'

N.3.2.2.2 Pseudocompounds

There are two main types of pseudocompound:

1. Those in which both components have meaning.
2. Those in which only the head has a meaning and the other component is a word-like sequence of syllables with no meaning outside of its role in the compound.

N.3.2.2.2.1 Pseudocompounds with Two Meaningful Components

The following common bound components occur at the beginning of a compound. In no case is any of the following bound components head of the compound.

1. ប្រជា /prɔcia-/ 'people, popular,' e.g. ប្រជាជាតិ /prɔcia-ciat/ 'nation, nationality' from ជាតិ /ciat/ 'nation.'
2. មហា /mohaa-/ 'great, large,' មហាសមុទ្រ /moha-samot/ 'ocean' from សមុទ្រ /samot/ 'sea.'
3. សហ /saha?-/ 'united,' e.g. សហរដ្ឋ /saha?-rɔ̀t/ 'united states' from រដ្ឋ /rɔ̀t/ 'state.'
4. អក្ក /akkɔ̀?/ 'high, important,' e.g. អក្កទូតរដ្ឋទូត /akkɔ̀?-rɔ̀ttə-tuut/ 'ambassador plenipotentiary' from រដ្ឋទូត /rɔ̀ttətuut/ 'ambassador.'
5. អនុ /anu?-/ 'under, lesser,' e.g. អនុវិទ្យាល័យ /anu?-vityialay/ 'junior high school' from វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school.'
6. ឧត្តម /utdam, udam/ 'high, noble,' e.g. ឧត្តមឋាន /udamthaan/ 'superior class' from ឋាន /thaan/ 'place.'

The following common bound components occur at the end of the compound. These components are all head of the compound in which they occur.

1. ចរ /-cɔɔ/ 'to go; travel,' e.g. ទេសចរ /tehsə-cɔɔ/ 'tourist' from ទេស/teeh/ 'place.'
2. ចរណ៍ /-cɔɔ/ 'traveling,' e.g. ទេសចរណ៍ /tehsə-cɔɔ/ 'tourism' from ទេស /teeh/ 'place.'
3. និយម /-niyum/ '-ism' e.g. សង្គមនិយម /sɔŋkum-niyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គម /sɔŋkum/ 'society.'

4. សាស្ត្រ /-sah/ 'study of' e.g. វិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /viccia-sah/ 'science' from វិជ្ជា /viccia/ 'knowledge.'

5. អារ៉ាល័យ /-alay/ 'place,' e.g. វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school' from វិទ្យា/វិជ្ជា/vityia, viccia/ 'knowledge.'

N.3.2.2.2.2 Pseudocompounds with One Meaningful Component

Normally pseudocompounds of this sort are formed with the meaningful element (the head) initial. There are two types of compound of this sort:

1. Those which involve a partial reduplication of the first element, e.g. ក្បាលក្បូង /kbaal-kboun/ 'head' from ក្បាល /kbaal/ 'head.'
2. Those in which the components bear no formal resemblance to each other, e.g. ប្រាក់កាស /pra?-kah/ 'money' from ប្រាក់/pra?/'silver, money.'

Reduplicative compounds are of three major types:

1. Rhyming compounds, e.g. ចានក្បាន /caan-kbaan/ 'crockery, chinaware' from ចាន /caan/ 'dish, bowl.'[7]
2. Alliterative compounds, e.g. ប្រដាប់ប្រដា /prɔdap-prɔdaa/ 'equipment' from ប្រដាប់ /prɔdap/ 'tool.'
3. Ablauting compounds, in which only the vowel changes, e.g. កូនក្មេង /kmeeŋ-kmaaŋ/ 'children' from កូន /kmeeŋ/ 'child.'

7. ក្បាន /kbaan/ is an obsolete form of no meaning to most present-day Cambodians.

VERBALS

V.1 Introduction

Cambodian verbs, like Cambodian nouns, are not inflected, in contrast with verbs of European languages. That is, the form of the verb remains the same no matter what syntactic environment it occurs in. Needless to say, there is no agreement with the person or number of the subject, and verbal categories like tense, aspect, voice are expressed paraphrastically when they are expressed at all. A verb like ទៅ /tɨw/ 'go' can be 'went, goes, is going, will go, have gone, had gone, etc.' depending on the other words with which it is used (e.g. adverbs, auxiliaries) or on its context (e.g. talking about future plans).

Categories of tense (past, present, and future) and of aspect (perfective, imperfective, etc.) are expressed by preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ធ្លាស់ /dael/ '(have) ever,' and by adverbials, e.g. ហើយ /haey/ 'already.' These categories also appear in resultative verbs, e.g. រៀនចប់ /rien cɔp/ 'to finish studying' (cf. S.2.2.3.1).

Some modal categories, e.g. desire, obligation, ability, appear in preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ចង់ /cɔŋ/ 'to want' or in resultative verbs, e.g. បាន /baan/ 'can' in ចង់បាន/cɔŋ baan/ 'can do (it).'

There is no subjunctive in Cambodian; situations like contrary-to-fact are signaled by context. For instance, the English sentence 'If he had known, he wouldn't have come' is translated into Cambodian as បើគាត់ដឹងគាត់មិនមកទេ /bae kɔt dəŋ kɔt mɨn mɔ̆ɔ tee/. This Cambodian sentence can also be translated 'If he knows, he won't come' or 'If he knew, he didn't come.' There is no overt signal at all in this sentence for a contrary-to-fact situation.

Transitivity and voice in Cambodian are complicated. There is no inflection for voice (active and passive), and in many cases a given verb may be translated either by an active or a passive verb in English, e.g.

ឡានឯងជួសថ្មីនៅឯណា?
laan look thee nɨw anaa
Where was your car made/fixed?

or

ឯងជួសឡានឯងថ្មីនៅឯណា?
look thee laan nɨw anaa
Where did you fix (make) your car?

Verbs of this sort are normally 'active' in meaning with an animate subject (ឯង /look/) and passive in meaning with an inanimate subject (/laan/).

In casual, spoken usage there are even ambiguous sentences (with a limited set of verbs) like កាត់នឹកញ្ញាម៉ិញម្សិលមិញ /kɔ̌t deñ pii mɨsəl mɨ̀ñ/, which may be translated either as 'he was chased yesterday' or 'he chased (someone) yesterday.' However, such a sentence with a passive meaning would ordinarily be inadmissible in formal style.

In fact we can say that there is no passive construction in Cambodian, though there are devices which can be used to translate passives in other languages. Usually Cambodian prefers a simple active sentence, perhaps with an indefinite subject គេ /kee/ 'they;' however, especially in formal usage, an English passive can be translated using the verb ទ្រូវ /trəw/ 'to experience something, to undergo.' The resulting sentence is an active sentence; what follows ទ្រូវmodifies ទ្រូវ ; ទ្រូវ in this case is not an auxiliary but the main verb. For example, ខ្ញុំទ្រូវគេបាញ់ /khñom trəw kee bañ/ 'I was shot (by them)' is literally 'I had an experience, namely, they shot me.' Much more rarely ជាន /baan/ 'get' is used like ទ្រូវ in this case, but with the connotation of something desirable, e.g.

ទៅជានទ្តូវការជ្រើសរើសទៅរៀនសេដ្ឋកិច្ច។
via baan rɔ̌ttekaa cuoy aoy tɨw rien khaan seethakec
He was helped by the government to go study economics.

A topic closely related to voice is causative action, in which one person permits or influences another to perform an action. Cambodian has a number of devices for expressing causative action, one of the most common of which is the verb ឲ្យ/aoy/ 'give,' which when used in construction with another verb means 'permit, cause to' e.g.

ខ្ញុំឲ្យគាត់អានកាសែតនេះ។
khñom aoy via meal kasaɛt nih
I let him read this newspaper(or I had him read this newspaper.).

Another device is affixation, in which a root verb (cf. V.3 below) occurs with the prefix បង /bɔŋ/, e.g. បង្កើត /bɔŋkaət/ 'to originate' from កើត /kaət/ 'to be born, to develop.'

Verbs which describe services are usually ambiguous; either they are active or they are causative. For example, one of the examples in the discussion of the passive that was given above;

ទស្សាកនធ្វើឡានឯណា?

look thee laan nɨw aenaa

'Where did you fix your car?' can also mean, 'Where did you have your car fixed?'

ខ្ញុំទៅកាត់សក់/khñom tɨw kat sɔ?/ is either, 'I'll go cut my hair,' or, 'I'll go have my hair cut.'

You will see as you learn Cambodian that few of the other verbal categories are exactly like those of English in meaning either. Even where they seem to be alike, they will not always be used under the same circumstances. For instance ✓ /baan/ used before a verb means something very much like English past tense, that is, action completed before the utterance or before a specific reference point, e.g.

គេងកម្សាំងរបស់ងបានបា ក្បាត់ទៅវិញ។

kɔɔŋ kamlaŋ yeeŋ baan baa tɨw viñ

Our forces shot back.

However, this use of ✓ is far more common in literary language than spoken and would be used in spoken discourse primarily to clarify an ambiguous situation and in some circles might scarcely be used at all.

V.2 Types of Verbal

There are three types of verbal in Cambodian: auxiliaries, stative verbs ('adjectives') and action verbs.

V.2.1 Auxiliaries

There is a small set of auxiliaries which express tense/aspect categories and another, larger set whose members have modal meanings. Some of them may be followed by the syllable ✓ /tae/ with no change in meaning, in which case they are written below with ✓ following in parentheses, e.g. ✓ /nɨw(tae)/'still.'

V.2.1.1 Tense/Aspect Auxiliaries

Tense/aspect auxiliaries can be grouped according to three criteria: aspect, duration, and 'reality.'

There are three aspectual categories: completed[1] action, begun but not completed action; and unbegun action. In addition, an auxiliary may be marked as durative; that is, it is either repeated or overlaps in time with some other action, as is the case in 'I am eating,' in which the act of eating overlaps in time with the act of speaking.

Completed Action

Unmarked: ឥន /baan/'past action'

ធ្លាល់ /daal/'within the subject's previous experience; translates 'have ever, never.'

Durative: ធ្លាប់ /thlɔ́p/'within the subject's previous experience,' usually refers to an act done more than once; sometimes translates 'used to.'

និយម/niyum/'frequent practice'

Begun Action

Unmarked: នៅ(ទៀត)/nɨw(taɛ)/'still' (emphasizes incompletion)

Durative: កំពុង(ទៀត) /kɔmpuŋ(taɛ)/'action in progress at the same time as some other action which is usually the act of speaking ' (usually translated by 'is/was ...ing').

Unbegun Action

Unmarked: នឹង /nɨŋ/'will' (predicted action in the future)

មិនទាន់/mɨntɔ́n/'not yet' (unbegun but anticipated as strong possibility).

Durative: No forms

In addition, some auxiliaries specifically mark the event in a clause as real, that is, it actually has happened and is not a possibility or even a prediction. The auxiliaries which carry this meaning are

ធ្លាល់ /daal/'ever, have ever'

ធ្លាប់ /thlɔ́p/'have done, used to do'

និយម /niyum/'to have as custom or habit'

1. The word 'completed' here means only that the act is no longer going on, not that all the work has been done to completion.

and one idiom ជាអ /mian/ plus clause, e.g.

ជាអនកលក់ម្ហូបអាហារនៅទីនេះទេ?
/mian kee lŭ' mʰoup nʰiw nih tee?/
(Is it a fact that) they sell food here?

None of these 'reality markers' is used in the future. This means that to say 'don't ever say that' you cannot use the word ទីណាស /daal/ 'ever'. Instead you will have to translate this sentence another way, e.g.

កុំថាអញ្ចឹងចឹយៗនោះ។
/kom thaa ɛ̃ncəŋ aoy soh/
'Don't ever say that!' (literally 'don't say that at all!).

Likewise ទីណាស /daal/ cannot be used in a sentence like 'I'll never do that again.'

V.2.1.2 Modal Auxiliaries

There are many verbs used before another verb with modal meaning, but there is only a small class of verbs the members of which occur only as auxiliaries. These are

a. គួរ(ទើត) /kuo(taa)/ 'should'
b. ត្រូវ(ទើត) /trɔw(taa)/ 'must'
c. អាច /aac/ 'can, (is) able'
d. មិនបាច់ /mɨn bac/ 'don't need to' (មិនត្រូវ /mɨn trɔw/ means 'must not').
e. ចង់ /cəŋ/ 'to want to' (N.B. 'to want' + noun is always ចង់បាន /cəŋ baan/ + noun, literally 'to want to get' + noun.

Other verbs which occur in preverbal position are considered full verbs which are in an attributive construction with the main verb, e.g.

ទស្សនកត្រូវការមក
/look trɔw kaa mɔɔ/
You need to come

in which ត្រូវការ /trɔw kaa/ 'need' is not considered a modal auxiliary since it also occurs as a main verb in a sentence like

ខ្ញុំមិនត្រូវការលុយទេ។

/knñom mɨn trɑw kaa luy tee/

I don't need money.

V.2.2 Adjectives (Stative Verbs)

In English adjectives are classed as nominals; however, in Cambodian they are verbals. They occur in the same syntactic positions as action verbs. This means that you cannot translate English 'is/are' before a predicate adjective. For instance, the English sentence 'my friend is fat' is translated ក្មួយម៉ាក្រាស់ /puo' ma' khñom thɑ́t/ and the word ធាត់ /thɑ́t/ means 'to be fat' not just 'fat.' While there are words in Cambodian which translate English 'be,' they are never used before a predicate adjective.

Adjectives are used with verbal auxiliaries just as action verbs are, e.g.

គាត់ត្រូវពូកែ។

/kɑ́t trɑw pukaɛ/

He ought to be skillful.

However, they do not occur in construction with resultative verbs (cf. S.2.2.3.1) like ចប់ /cɑ́p/'to complete.'

Henceforth, unless otherwise specified, the term 'verb' is used to refer to both adjectives and action verbs.

V.3 Composition of Verbs

Like nouns, verbs are categorized as root verbs (only one component), complex verbs (containing an affix), and compound verbs (containing two or more independent words).

V.3.1 Root Verbs

Root verbs are both native, e.g. កើត /kaət/'to be born, arise' and borrowed, e.g. ឈ្បៀ /bɑucia/'to cremate' (from Sanskrit). Most native root verbs are monosyllabic, e.g. ចូល /coul/'to enter.'

V.3.2 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs are formed by prefixation and infixation. As was the case with complex nouns (cf. N.3.1), the affixes are not productive, though some are very widespread.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex nouns.

V.3.2.1 Prefixes

1. /p-/ 'causative,' e.g. ប្ដឹង /pdəŋ/'to report (cause to know)' from ដឹង /dəŋ/ 'know' or ប្ដុំ /phdom/'to gather together (cause to form a lump)' from ដុំ /'dom/ 'a piece, lump.'

2. /k-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ក្បត់ /kbət/'to betray' from /bət/'to turn, to fold.'

3. /Co-/ or /Co-/ where C is the same as the first consonant of the root verb, e.g. កកាយ /kokaay/'to scratch, dig at (repeatedly)' from កាយ /kaay/ 'to dig.' In this case C is /k/. Normally Co-/Co- indicates repetitive or intensive action.

4. /ro-/ a. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. រលត់ /rolŭt/ 'extinguished' from លត់ /lŭt/'to extinguish, put out.'

   b. 'intransitivity,' e.g. រលាយ /roliey/'to melt, thaw (intrans.),' from លាយ /liey/'to mix.'

5. /pro-/ a. 'reciprocity,' e.g. ប្រកាំ /procam/'to wait for one another' from កាំ /cam/'to wait.'

   b. 'causative,' e.g. ប្រដូច /prədouc/'to compare (cause to be similar) from ដូច /douc/'like, similar to.'

   c. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ប្រកាន់ /prəkan/'to maintain; to discriminate' from កាន់ /kan/'to hold.'

6. /cro-/ 'causative,' e.g. ជ្រមុជ /cromuc/'to submerge (trans.)' from មុជ /muc/'to dive, go under.'

7. /kro-/ 'change of meaning from root verb,' e.g. ក្រវត់ /krovŏt/'to jerk (in any direction)' from វត់ /vŏt/'to jerk (over the shoulder).'

8. /bəŋ-/,/pŭŋ-/ 'causative,' e.g. បង្រៀន /bəŋrien/'to teach' from រៀន /rien/'to study, to learn;' ពង្រីក /pŭŋriik/'to expand, to build up (trans.)' from រីក /riik/'to expand (intrans.), to bloom.' Note that the /ŋ/ at the end of this prefix can be replaced by some other nasal consonant following the rules in N.3.1.1 prefix 1. This is one of the most common prefixes.

9. /dɔn/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. ដណ្តើម /dɔndaam/'to quarrel over ownership' from ដើម /daam/'origin.'

10. /rum/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. រំលាយ /rumliey/'to melt (transitive)' from លាយ /liey/'to mix.'

V.3.2.2 Infixes

1. /-m-/ 'verbalization' ល្មើស /lmeəh/'to exceed; to violate' from /leəh/ 'beyond.'

2. /-ɑŋ-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. បង្អែល /bɑŋ'ael/'to frighten' from ផ្អែល /ph'ael/'afraid.'

b. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. ដំបូង /dɔmbouŋ/'first' from /tbouŋ/'head (archaic).'

/-ɑŋ-/ follows the pronunciation rules given in N.3.1.1 prefix 1.

3. /-ɑm-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. សម្អាត /sɑm'aat/'to clean up' from ស្អាត /s'aat/'clean.'

b. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ចំលង /cɑmlɔŋ/'to copy' from ឆ្លង /clɔŋ/'to cross.'

4. /-ɑnn-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. កំណត់ /kɑnnɔt/'to require' from កត់ /kot/'to take notes.'

V.3.3 Compound Verbs

Compounding is considerably less extensive for verbs than for nouns. There are uncentered and centered verbal compounds (cf. N.3.2).

V.3.3.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are two types of uncentered compound verbs: those in which both components are meaningful and those in which neither element is meaningful alone. The first type is the coordinate compound, in which both components are verbal, e.g. ពិនិត្យរមិល /pinit-meel/'to inspect' from ពិនិត្យ /pinit/'to examine' and រមិល /meel/'to look at.' The second type involves some form of partial reduplication—rnyming or alliteration, e.g. រដ្ឋិសដ្ឋាស /pdeəh-pdaah/'disorganized, trivial, mischievous' in which neither រដ្ឋិល /pdeəh/ nor ដ្ឋាស /pdaah/ has independent meaning. For the most part, members of this second class are adjectives.

V.3.3.2 Centered Compounds

There are also two types of centered compound verb. The first kind is a combination of verb and noun, e.g. ជ្រាបគុណ /cɔ-kun/'thank you' from ជ្រាប /cɔ/'happy, pleased' and គុណ 'merit, moral credit.' The second kind involves some form of partial reduplication of a meaningful head by rhyming or alliteration, e.g. ស្រួលបួល /sruol buol/'comfortable' from ស្រួល /sruol/'easy' and the rhyming component បួល /buol/, which has no independent meaning. Most members of the partially reduplicating class are adjectives.

ADVERBIALS

A.1 Introduction

Cambodian adverbials are members of the following classes:

1. Negators
2. Preverbals
3. Particles
4. Ordinary Adverbs

In addition, there are three words which combine with adjectives to form adverbial phrases.

A.2 Negators

The word for 'no' in answer to a question is ទេ /tee/. In polite speech it is preceded by a response particle បាទ /baat/(used by males) or ចាស៎ /cah/(used by females), e.g.

Q.	A.
ស្គាល់ឬទេ?	ចាស៎ទេ
look srəy dəŋ tee?	cah tee
Do you know, (Madame)?	No (I don't).

There are three preverbal negators, ពុំ /pum/, មិន /mɨn,m/, and អត់ /ot/(គ្មាន /et/ is also used for អត់). ពុំ /pum/ is the most literary and seldom heard in speech; មិន /mɨn/ is used in speaking, but in Phnom Penh it is used usually in fairly formal contexts. អត់(គ្មាន) /ot/ is the usual negator used in speaking in Phnom Penh. All of these precede the word they negate.

If a nominal is preceded by a negator, the construction is negator + ជាមួយ /mɔɔn/ + noun, e.g. មិនជាមួយខ្ញុំទេ /mɨn mɔɔn khñom tee/'It's not me.' ជា /cia/'is'/ is also negated by មិនជាមួយ /mɨn mɔɔn/, e.g. នេះមិនជាមួយជាសាច់គោទេ /nih mɨn mɔɔn cia sac koo/'This isn't beef.' When នឹង /kɨŋ/'is' is negated, it is also replaced by មិនជាមួយ /mɨn mɔɔn/, e.g. នេះមិនជាមួយសុខ, សួន, នឹងសុសទេ /nih mɨn mɔɔn sok, suon, nɨŋ sos tee/'This isn't Sok, Suon, and Sos.' The negators + ដែរ/mɔɔn/ are also used to mean 'it is not the case that...', e.g. ខ្ញុំអត់ដែរថាអញ្ជើញទេ /khnom ot mɔɔn thaa ɲɨəŋ tee/. 'It is not the case that I said that.'

Ordinarily, if a negator precedes a verb phrase, the verb phrase is followed by ទេ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ

/khñom mɨn dəŋ tee/

I don't know.

A stronger statement is made by substituting អីសោះ /sɑh/'at all' for ទេ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងអីសោះ

/knñom mɨn dəŋ sɑh/

I don't have any idea; I don't know at all.

If there is an indirect question, ទេ may follow either the negated verb or the indirect question, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ, គាត់នៅឯណា។

/knñom mɨn dəŋ tee, kɔ̏t nɨw ʔaənaa/

or

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងគាត់នៅឯណាទេ។

/knñom mɨn dəŋ, kɔ̏t nɨw ʔaənaa tee/

both of which mean 'I don't know where he is.'

The verb មាន /mian/'there is; to have' has a special negative form អត់ /kmian/'there is not; to not have', e.g.

ខ្ញុំអត់ស្រុយទេ។

/khnom kmian luy tee/

I haven't any money.

Where មាន /mian/ is used as an auxiliary (cf. V.2.1.1), អត់ may also be used, e.g.

គេនៅតែលក់ម្ហូបនៅឯណេះ។

/kmian kee lɨ̏ʔ mhoup nɨw nɨŋ tee/

They don't sell food there.

In spoken usage, អត់ /kmian/ is also used like the general negators, e.g.

ខ្ញុំស្គាល់ដែរទេ។

/khñom kmian dəŋ tee/

I don't know.

also means 'without', translating both the English preposition and conjunction, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅស្គាល់បាបអ៊ីវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tɨw kmian hap ʔyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

អត់ /ʔət/ is used in the same way, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅអត់ហ៊ាបអ៊ីវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tɨw ʔət hap ʔyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

In a negative imperative, the negator is កុំ /kom/'don't', e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹង។

/kom niyiey ʔñcəŋ/

Don't talk like that, don't say that.

The expression 'don't ever' is usually translated កុំ... ឲយអីសោះ/kom...ʔoy ʔəh/, e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹងឲយអីសោះ។

/kom niyiey ʔñcəŋ ʔoy ʔəh/

Don't ever say that!

(There are other ways to say 'don't ever' which you will learn as you study Cambodian further.) មិនសូវ /mɨn sɔw/ is a mild negative 'not very, not so', e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនសូវចូលចិត្តគាត់។

/khñom mɨn sɔw cuulcət kɔ̂t/

I don't like him very much.

A.3 Preverbals

There are two groups of preverbal adverbs: 1) fixed preverbals, which occur only in preverbal position, and 2) non-fixed preverbals, which may also occur in other positions, e.g. preceding the subject of the sentence.

In both classes, some members include the suffix តែ /tae/. In some cases តែ is optional, e.g. ស្រឡែនតែ/craen tae/'mostly' which is synonymous with ស្រឡែន /craen/ 'mostly.' Where it is optional, តែ is written in parentheses, e.g. ស្រឡែន (តែ)/craen/ (tae)/'mostly.' In cases where តែ is obligatory, it is ordinarily because it makes an adverb from a verb of different meaning, e.g. ចេះតែ /cəh tae/'always,' in which ចេះ /cəh/ is 'to know how to.' Obligatory តែ /tae/ is written without parentheses. Some preverbal adverbs include an optional ទៀ /cia/, e.g. ប្រហែល(ទៀ) /muk(cia)/'probably.'

A.3.1 Fixed Preverbals

The common fixed preverbals are:

- កាន(តែ) /kān(tae)/'increasingly'
- គ្រាន់(តែ) /krɔ̀n(tae)/'only, just'
- ជិត /cət/'almost, nearly'
- ទើប(តែ) /tɨəp(tae)(nán)/'to have just'
- មានតែ /mian tae/'there is no choice but to'
- រវល់(តែ) /rovəl(tae)/'busily'
- ទៀត(តែ) /rət(tae)/'only, just'
- រៀប(តែ) /riəp(tae)/'to be about to, planning to'
- សាំង(តែ) /saŋ(tae)/'almost'
- ស្ទើរ(តែ) /stəə(tae)/'almost'
- អាសារ(តែ) /aalay(tae)/'busy at'

An example:

ខ្ញុំទើបមកៗ
/khñom tɨəp mɔ̀ɔ/

I have just arrived.

A.3.2 Non-fixed Preverbals

The common non-fixed preverbals are:

- ពិត(តែ) /kɨn(tae)/'certainly'

ចំណាស់(នឹង) /cɔmnam(tae)/'usually'
ក្រែង(នឹង) /crɛɛŋ(tae)/'mostly'
តែងតែ(នឹង) /tɛɛŋ(tae)/'usually, always'
ប្រហែល(ជា)/prohael(cia)/'perhaps, maybe'
ប្រាកដ(ជា) /muk(cia)/'certainly, probably'
ប្រាកដ(នឹង) /muk(tae)/'certainly, probably'
រាល់ដងឯ(នឹង) /rɔnɛɛŋ(tae)/'usually'
សុទ្ធតែ /sot tae/'purely, exclusively'
ស្រាប់(តែ) /srap(tae)/'suddenly'

For example:

ខ្ញុំប្រហែលជានឹងទៅស្អែក។
/khñom prohael cia tɨw s'aek/
Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

or

ប្រហែលជាខ្ញុំនឹងទៅស្អែក។
/prohael cia khñom tɨw s'aek/
Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

A.4 Particles

There are four types of particle: hesitation, response, medial, and final.

A.4.1 Hesitation Particles

The hesitation particles used in Cambodian are:

អានិញ្ញ /adeeñ/(prenominal) អា /aa/(prenominal)
ណា /nae/(preverbal)[1] អើ /ɨ/(preverbal)

Hesitation is also shown in frequent repetition of the same word.

1. Also used before a sentence.

Examples:

ខ្ញុំគិត...អ៊ីចឹងមិនដឹង /khnom kɨt...ʔɨt...mɨn khaaŋ/'I can't think of anything.'

ខ្ញុំរក...អានឯណា...សំបុត្ររបស់គេ /khnom rɔɔ...ʔaaeeŋ...sɑmbot kee/'I'm looking for, uh, their letter.'

ការ៉ាត់...នែ...និយាយអញ្ចឹង /kɔ́t...nae...niyiey ʔɲcəŋ/'That's...uh... what he said.

Before an utterance, Cambodians will attract the attention of the hearer with words like នែ៎ /nɑh/, នែ /nae/, អើ /ʔəəh/, or by using the hearer's name or his title, e.g.

នែ!មកនេះ /nae! mɔ nih/'Hey! Come here!'

លោក!គិតធ្វើអ្វី? /look! kɨt thəə ʔy?/'Sir! What are you planning to do?'

នែ៎ /nɑh/, នែ /nae/, and អើ /ʔəəh/ are used with people with whom one is on familiar terms.

A.4.2 Response Particles

When a Cambodian answers a question or simply wishes to indicate that he has been listening, he uses one of the following response particles:

បាទ /baat/(polite, used by males)

ចាស៎ /cah/(polite, used by females)

អើ /ʔəə/ or អ៊ី /ʔɨ/(intimate or used with social inferiors).

An affirmative response to a question may consist only of a response particle, or it may include a longer answer, e.g.

Q: លោកដឹងទេ

/look dəŋ tee/

Do you know (it)?

A: បាទ((ខ្ញុំ)ដឹង)

/baat ((khñom) dəŋ)/

Yes (I do).

A polite negative response particle precedes the negative ទេ /tee/'no' in polite speech (cf. A.2 above).

A.4.3 Medial Particles

There are two common medial particles in Cambodian: កី /kɔɔ/ and នូវ /nɯw/. Neither is translatable into English.

កី /kɔɔ/ is used before a clause or a verb phrase with something like the meaning of 'accordingly, then, so, and so.' In fact, its function is to introduce a predicate which is in some way related to what has come before. For example:

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់សួរនឹងគ្រូ គ្រូក៏ប្រាប់នឹងគេថា ...ហើយកូនសិស្សក៏ឈប់សួរ។ /koun seh menɔ̆' suo tɨw kruu...kruu kɔɔ prap tɨw kee thaa...haey kounseh kɔɔ chup suo/

'A student asks the teacher...(and) the teacher tells him.... and (so) the student stops asking.'

The teacher's telling is a consequence of the student's question, and the student stops asking because of what the teacher told him. In another example we see that the subject of the verb phrase introduced by កី need not change.

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់យល់សំណួរក៏ឆ្លើយថា។ /koun seh menɔ̆' yɨl sɑmnuo kɔɔ chlaey thaa/

'One of the students understands the question and answers:'

កី as a verb phrase introducer is even clearer in the sentence-initial phrase ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /kɔɔ pontaɛ/'however,' e.g. ខ្ញុំដឹង ក៏ប៉ុន្តែខ្ញុំមិនចង់ទៅទេ /khñom dəŋ kɔɔ pontaɛ khñom mɨn cəŋ tɨw tee/'I know. However, I don't want to go.'

កី is also used in a great many other important structures and idioms, e.g. question word plus ក៏បាន /kɔɔ baan/, as in អ្វីមិញក៏បាន /thaa ɛy kɔɔ baan/'(You) can do anything' or ឯណាក៏បាន/aɛnaa kɔɔ baan/'anywhere is O.K.' It can be analyzed as keeping its basic meaning in such constructions.

The other medial adverbial is នូវ /nɯw/, which occurs only in literary or highly formal spoken style. It marks an object of a verb or relator, almost always the direct object of a verb, especially when a temporal or locative phrase precedes the object, e.g.

គ្រូសួរនូវកូនសិស្សនូវសំណួរទាំងឡាយ។ /kruu suo tɨw kounseh nɯw sɑmnuo tɔ̃ŋ laay/

The teacher asked the students the question.

A.4.4 Final Particles

There is a set of very important particles that is used at the end of a phrase, clause, or sentence. This set includes the following:

a. ណាស់ /nah/ 'very'

b. ទៅ /tɨw/ 'go ahead and...' (imperative); action away from the speaker; extended action

c. ចុះ /coh/ 'go ahead and... (it's O.K. with me)

d. មក /mok/ (action toward the speaker)

e. ហើយ /haey/ 'already'

ហើយ/haey/ indicates action whose termination has an effect on the present; it translates English auxiliary 'have' as in

ខ្ញុំមើលកុនហ្នឹងហើយ។

/khñom meal kon nɨŋ haey/

I've seen that movie (already).

It is close in meaning to 'already' in some non-standard immigrant English, e.g. 'That's right already,' which is translated almost literally into standard Cambodian ត្រូវទៅហើយ /trɔw haey/'right!' In a negative sentence ហើយ /haey/ is replaced by ទៅទៀត /nɨw laey/ with a meaning of 'so far, ever'; e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនទាន់មើលកុនហ្នឹងទៅទៀតទេ។

/khñom mɨn tŏn meal kon nɨŋ nɨw laey/

I haven't seen that movie (so far).

In a future context there is a use of ហើយ/haey/ which indicates completion only in a remote sense, e.g. the second ហើយ in

ស្អែកខ្ញុំធ្វើឲ្យហើយ។

/s'ɑɑk khñom thee haey haey/

tomorrow I do finish already

I'll finish (it) tomorrow.

In this example the first ហើយ indicates completion of the act, but the

second connotes a promise to perform the action. What the second ហើយ /haey/ makes of the sentence is 'tomorrow I'll finish it - and now it's no longer an issue for further discussion.'

f. ទេ /tee/ 1) marks a yes/no question, e.g.

ទៅយើងញុំបាយតិចឬទេ?

/yeeŋ ñam cylew tee?/

Will we eat now?

The particle is not obligatory, but it is much more often used than not.

2) occurs with a general negator (cf. A.2) in a negative sentence, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ។

/khñom mɨn deŋ tee/

I don't know.

Again, it is not obligatory, but it is very frequent.

3) marks a statement which in some way is contradictory to what has come before, e.g.

A. ឡូកទៅហើយ។

/look tɨw haey/

You've gone already.

B. ទេខ្ញុំទៅស្អែក។

/tee khñom tɨw sʔaek tee/

No, I'm going tomorrow.

g. ឬ /rɨ́/ or ឬទេ /rɨ́ cy/ marks a question, often one for which an affirmative answer is anticipated (if the question is affirmative). A negative answer is anticipated if the question is negative, e.g.

គេកំពុងធ្វើបាយឬ?

/kee kampuŋ thee baay rɨ́?/

Is he cooking?

(This question anticipates an answer 'yes.') Another example:

ឧលាកមិនញុំបុ?
/look min ñam rɨt?/
Didn't you eat?

(This question expects an answer 'no.')

h. វិញ /viñ/'instead, back again,' e.g.

តិចឬរួសួរខ្ញុំវិញ។
/tɨlɔw suo khñom viñ/
Now ask me (back again, in return).

Another example:

កុំប្រើឆ្នាំងនោះ, ប្រើឆ្នាំងនេះវិញ។
/kom prae chnaŋ nuh, prae aa nih viñ/
Don't use that pan, use this one (instead).

វិញ is also used in constructions like ឯ... វិញ /ae...viñ/'as for,' e.g. ឯខ្ញុំវិញ/ae khñom viñ/'as for me...' and in idioms like ផ្ទុយទៅវិញ/phtuy tɨw viñ/ 'on the contrary.'

i.ណា /naa/ or ណឹស/ne/ serves as a deferent or softened exhortation. Examples of ណា /naa/:

នៅផ្ទះណា
/nɨw phtɔh ne/
Let's stay home.

កុំទៅណាណា
/kom tɨw naa ne/
Don't go anywhere.

Note that there is a higher than normal pitch on the entire sentence and a rise on ណា .

j.ពេក /peek/'too (much), very, exceedingly,' e.g. ច្រើនពេក/craen peek/ 'too much.'

k. សិន /sen/'first, for the time being.'

l. ដែរ /dae/'also.'

m. ផង /phoŋ/'also; will you?'

ដែរ /dae/ and ផង /phoeŋ/ are both translated 'also.' However, in careful usage, ដែរ is used when A is doing something and B is doing it too, e.g.

គាត់ទៅផ្ទះ ហើយខ្ញុំទៅផ្ទះដែរ។

/kŏt tɨw phtŏh haey khñom tɨw phtŏh dae/

He's going home, and I'm going home too.

ផង, on the other hand, is used in two especially important places:

1) it is used when A is performing action X and action Y; that is, the same subject occurs with two or more different verb phrases, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅបង់រហើយទៅផ្សារផង។

/khñom tɨw bɔŋ haey tɨw phsaa phoeŋ/

I'm going to the bank and to the market as well.

2) ផង is also used when A and B are doing the same thing during the same period of time but B is a follower or a kind of junior partner, e.g.

A. ខ្ញុំទៅផ្សារឥឡូវ។

/khñom tɨw phsaa ʔylɔw/

I'm going to the market now.

B. ខ្ញុំទៅផងបានទេ?

/khñom tɨw phoeŋ baan tee?/

Can I go too?

Note that ដែរ /dae/ makes no restriction on the time span covered the way ផង /phoeŋ/ does in usage number 2 above; ដែរ does not specify when the second person performs his similar action.

n. ទៀសៈ /laey/ 'no longer (not)...any more; at all; will never, don't ever'

c. ទៀត /tiet/ 'no longer, (not)...any more; further, more'

A.5 Adverb Formers

The adverb-forming words are ជា /cia/, ដោយ/daoy/, យ៉ាង/yaaŋ/, and ស /doo/. All are used with adjectives to make adverbial phrases, e.g. មានភ្ញៀវមកជារច្រើន /mian phñiɔw móo cia rcaen/ 'Guests came in large quantity.' The word ស /doo/ is limited to literary style.

Following an imperative verb, ចុះ/aoy/ also has adverbial meaning, e.g.

សុំអោយខ្ញុំឃើញច្បាស់។
/som mool aoy chah/

Please read clearly.

Another example:

គេធ្វើឱ្យឆាប់។
/kee thee aoy chap/

They did it quickly.

Literally ឱ្យ + adjective means 'so that it will be...'

A.6 Ordinary Adverbs

Ordinary adverbs are formed by affixation and compounding. There are also a few root adverbs, e.g. ឥឡូវ /aylow/'now.' For the most part, however, words translating English adverbs are adjectives. That is, they are verbs. They get the title of 'adverbs' because they can be used in syntactic positions like modifiers of verbs, e.g. គាត់មកឆាប់ណាស់ /kŏt móo chap nah/'He came very quickly.' ឆាប់ /chap/'quick, fast' is normally an adjective. The number of words used purely adverbially is very small.

A.6.1 Complex Adverbs

The only affix which forms adverbs is the reduplicating prefix /Co/ or /Co/ in which C is the first consonant of the base, e.g. ញ្ញក់ញ្ញំ /ñoñŏ/'tremblingly, shakingly' from ញ្ញក់ /ñŏ/'to tremble, shiver.' In this case C is /ñ/, so the prefix is /ño/.

A.6.2 Compound Adverbs

There is one type of uncentered compound adverb: that is, a compound composed of two independent words, e.g. រួចទៅហើយ /ruoc hoey/ from រួច /ruoc/'to be finished' and ទៅហើយ /hoey/'already; to be finished.' There is also one type of centered compound adverb: that is, a compound in which all elements are meaningful, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃនេះ /sop thnay nih/'nowadays, presently' from សព្វ /sop/'every' ថ្ងៃ /thnay/'day' and នេះ /nih/'this.'

RELATORS

R.1 Introduction

There are two types of relators:

1. phrase relators, which connect words and phrases with each other and
2. clause relators, which connect clauses with each other.

R.2 Phrase relators

The two types of phrase relators are copulas and prepositions. Copulas connect two words or phrases, usually nominals, to make a clause; prepositions connect a following word, again usually a nominal or a noun phrase, to what precedes, but the result is not necessarily an independent unit.

R.2.1 Copulas

There are only three copulas. They are:

1. ជា /cia/, which is the most common copula. It may be interpreted as indicating that the subject is a member of the class of objects named by the predicate; that is, it says that the subject 'is a...' For instance,

នេះជាខ្មៅដៃ
/nih cia kmaw-day/
This is a pencil.

It is negated by មិនមែន /mɨn mɛɛn/, e.g.

នេះមិនមែនជាខ្មៅដៃទេ
/nih mɨn mɛɛn cia kmaw day tee/
This isn't a pencil.

2. គឺ /kɨɨ/, which may be used with the same meaning as ជា /cia/ except that where it is followed by more than one proper name it is obligatory, e.g.

នេះគឺ សុខ, សួន, និង សុស
/nih kɨɨ sok, suon, nɨŋ soh/
This is Sok, Suon, and Sos.

គឺ /kɨɨ/ also means 'that is, that is to say,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំបាទនឹងមកពីខែមករាដល់ខែមីនា គឺបីខែ។

/khñom mɔ̂ʔ pii khaɛ mɨ́ʔkəraa dɔl khaɛ miinaa, kɨɨ bəy khaɛ/

I'm coming from January to March, that is to say, three months.

ន័យគឺ/pool kɨɨ/ also means 'that is to say.'

3. គឺជា /kɨɨ cia/, which is used like ជា /cia/.

In some cases there is no copula at all, especially in predicates containing time words. For example

ថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃសៅរ៍

/thŋay nih thŋay saw/

Today is Saturday.

R.2.2 Prepositions

There are only a few words that can be classed as prepositions in Cambodian, though there are other means of translating English prepositions. The prepositions are:

ខុសតែ	/khoh taɛ/'except' (slang)
ក្រៅតែ	/kraw taɛ/'except'
ចៀសតែ	/cieh taɛ/'except' (slang)
លើកលែងតែ	/ləək lɛaŋ taɛ/'except'
ក្រោយពី	/kraoy (pii)/'after'
ជួចពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
ក្រៅពី	/kraw pii/'aside from, besides'
ក្រៅពី...ចេញ	/kraw pii...ceñ/'besides, aside from'
ជាង	/ciaŋ/'(more)than'
ជាមួយ	/ciamuoy/'with'
ជិត	/cɨt/'near'
ជុំវិញ	/cumviñ/'around'
ដោយសារ	/daoy saa/'because of'
ព្រោះ	/prɔ̂h/'because of'
ពីព្រោះ	/pii prɔ̂h/'because of'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ទាំង	/téŋ/'including'

ប្រាបពាំង	/próom tɛ̃ŋ/'including, as well as'
តាល់នឹង	/tól taɛ/'until'
រហូតដល់	/rəhout dɔl/'until'
ផ្ទាល់	/phtɔ̃l/'concerning, pertaining to'
ពី	/pii/'about, from'
អំពី	/ʔmpii/'about, from'
មុន(នឹង)	/mun (nɨŋ)/'before'
របស់	/rəbɔh/'belonging to'
រវាង	/roviaŋ/'between, during'
សម្រាប់	/sʔmrap/'for'
រស្មើ	/smaə/'equal to'
ឯ	/aɛ/'at'

English prepositional phrases can also be translated by two types of Cambodian phrase which do not include prepositions:

1) a verb phrase which is attributive to what precedes, e.g.

ខ្ញុំនឹងធ្វើការដល់ស្អែក

/khñom thəə kaa dɔl sʔaɛk/

I'll work until tomorrow,

in which the verb phrase ដល់ស្អែក/dɔl sʔaɛk/'until tomorrow' includes the verb 'arrive at.' Thus, literally this sentence is 'I'll work (in such a way as to) arrive at tomorrow.' Verbs which are frequently used this way are:

ចំ	/cɔm/'to hit exactly, be on target'	'exactly at'
ជ្រុល	/chvaɛl/'to go around'	'around'
ជាប់	/cɔ́p/'to adhere to'	'next to, adjacent to'
ជូន	/cuun/'to give (formal)'	'for, to'
ឲ្យ	/aoy/'to give (informal)'	'for, to'
ជួស	/cuoh/'to replace'	'instead of'
ជំនួស	/cumnuoh/'to replace'	'instead of'
ដល់	/dɔl/'to reach, arrive at'	'until'
តាំ	/tumrɔ́m/'to endure'	'until'
ដូច	/douc/'to be alike, similar'	'like'

ដូចជា	/douccia/'to be similar to; seemingly'	'like'
តាម	/taam/'to follow'	'according to, following'
ទល់	/tŭl/'to support face to face'	'facing'
នៅ	/nɨw/'to be located at'	'at'
បន្ទាប់	/bontɔ̆p/'to be next'	'next to, succeeding'
លើស	/leəh/'to exceed'	'more than, exceeding'
វិញ	/vĭŋ/'to go around, encircle'	'around'
ហួស	/huoh/'to pass'	'more than'

2) the locative nominals listed below may be used with or without the verb នៅ/nɨw/'to be located (at)', e.g.

គាត់ក្នុងផ្ទះ

/kɔ̆t knoŋ phtĕ̆h/

He's in the house.

or គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ

/kɔ̆t nɨw knoŋ phtĕ̆h/

with the same meaning. The locative nominals are:

កណ្តាល	/kəndaal/'middle'	as a preposition:	'in the middle, between'
ក្នុង	/knoŋ/'interior'		'inside'
ក្បែរ	/kbaɛ/'area next to'		'next to'
ក្រោម	/kraom/'bottom'		'under'
ក្រោយ	/kraoy/'back part'		'behind'
ក្រៅ	/kraw/'outside'		'outside of'
ឆ្វេង	/chvəəŋ/'the left side'		'to the left of'
មុខ	/muk/'face, front'		'in front of'
លើ	/ləə/'top'		'on top of, over'
ស្តាំ	/sdam/'the right side'		'to the right of'

These nouns are frequently used as part of a compound containing ខាង /khaaŋ/ e.g. ខាងក្រោម /khaaŋ kraom/'the under part' (except ក្បែរ /kbaɛ/'next to,'

which is seldom used with ខាង /khaaŋ/). However, they may also be used alone as nominals in some circumstances. A sentence like

គាត់ក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kɔ̌t knoŋ phtéh/
He's in the house,[1]

is therefore treated as a transform of a base sentence like

គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kɔ̌t nɨw knoŋ phtéh/
He's in the house.

in which នៅ /nɨw/'to be at' is deleted.

R.3 Clause Relators

There are two types of clause relators, fixed and non-fixed.

R.3.1 Fixed Clause Relators

A clause which contains a fixed clause relator can occur in only one position relative to the clause to which it is connected, for instance in

ខ្ញុំនឹងអានរួចខ្ញុំនៅ
/khñom nɨŋ aan ruoc khñom tɨw/
I'll read, then I'll go,

the clause containing the fixed clause relator រួច /ruoc/'then' can occur only after the clause to which it is connected. Most of the words in this class correspond to coordinating conjunctions in English, and many can be used to connect nominals, e.g. ចេកឬស្វាយ /ceek rɨ́ svaay/'bananas or mangoes.' Relators of this second type are marked by a following symbol (N) below. The members of the class of fixed clause relators are:

ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /koo pontaɛ/'but, however'
តែ /taɛ/'but'

1. A more frequent meaning of this first sentence is 'the one in the house,' used of someone who is respected.

ប៉ុន្តែ	/pontaɛ/'but'
គឺ	/kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
គឺថា	/kɨɨ thaa/'that is' (N)
ដូចថា	/douc thaa/'that is' (N)
រហូតគឺ	/pool kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
ទើប	/təəp/'only then; not...until'
ចាន	/baan/'only then; not...until'
សឹម	/səm/'and (only) then'
រួច	/ruoc/'then' (N)
រួចហើយ	/huəy/'and' (N)
រួចហើយនឹង	/huəy nɨŋ/'and' (N)
ទាន់អោន	/ʊt mian/'without...ing'

There are some fixed clause relators that occur in pairs:

...ក៏ដោយ... ក៏ដោយ	/...kɔɔ dɑoy...kɔɔ dɑoy/'whether...or...' (N)
...ក្តី... ក្តី	/...kdəy...kdəy/'whether...or...' (N)
កាលណា... កាលឯណោះ...	/kaal naa...kaal nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
ដរាបណា... ដរាបឯណោះ...	/dɔɔrap naa...dɔɔrap nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
រហូតណា... រហូតឯណោះ	/pool naa...pool nɨŋ/'whenever...then...'
ណាមួយ... ណាមួយ...	/naa muoy...naa muoy.../'on the one hand,...on the other hand...'
...ទាំង... ទាំង	/...phɔɔŋ...phɔɔŋ/'both...and'
ទាំង... ទាំង...	/tɛ̃ŋ...tɛ̃ŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
ទាំង... រហើយនឹង...	/tɛ̃ŋ...hɑəy nɨŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
...បន្ទាន់... បន្ទាន់	/...bondaə...bondaə/'both...and...(at the same time)'
ម៉េច... ម៉េច...	/mec...mec.../'if...then why...?'
មិនច... មិនច...	/mdec...mdec.../'if...then why...?'
ឬ... ឬ...	/rɨɨ...rɨɨ.../'either...or...' (N)

R.3.2 Non-fixed Clause Relators

The clause in which a non-fixed clause relator occurs may occur either before or after the clause to which it is connected, e.g.

បើគេមានលុយ គេនឹងទិញឡាន

/bae kee mian luy, kee tiñ laan/

If they have the money, they will buy a car,

or

គេនឹងទិញឡានបើគេមានលុយ

/kee tiñ laan bae kee mian luy/

They will buy a car if they have the money.

R.3.2.1 Temporal Clause Relators

Clause relators which indicate time relations are:

1) Used in past, present, and future context:

ក្នុងពេល	/knoŋ peel/'when; while'
ពេលនិង	/peel daɔl/'when; while'
ក្រោយ(ពី)	/kraoy(pii)/'after'
រួចពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
និង	/dɔl/'when'
និងពេលនិង	/dɔl peel daɔl/'when'
នៅពេល	/nɨw peel/'when'
លុះ	/luh/'when'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ពេលណា	/peel naa/'when, whenever'
មុន(នឹង)	/mun(nɨŋ)/'before'

2) Used in a past context only:

កាល	/kaal/'when (past)'
កាលពី	/kaal pii/'when (past)'

3) Used in a non-past context only:

កាលណា	/kaal naa/'when, whenever'
កាលណាបើ	/kaal naa bae/'when, whenever'
បើកាលណា	/bae kaal naa/'when, whenever'

4) Used only in a future context:

ទំនង	/tumrɔ́m/'when (future)'
ទំនងនិង	/tumrɔ́m dɔl/'when (future)'

R.3.2.2 Non-Temporal Clause Relators

កុំឲ្យ /kom aoy/'in order that not, so that not'

កុំឲ្យនែ /kom aoy tae/'so long as not, provided that not, on the condition that not,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំនឹងកុំឲ្យនែអ៊ានទៅ

/khñom tŋw kom aoy tae via tŋw/

I'll go only if he doesn't.

ក្រែង /kraeŋ/'lest, for fear that'

ក្រែងតែ /kraw pii/'aside from the fact that'

ខ្លាច /khlaac/'lest, for fear that'

ជំនួស /cumnuoh/'instead of the fact that'

ដូច(ជា) /douc(cia)/'as if'

ដើម្បី /daembəy/'in order that'

ដើម្បីឲ្យ /daembəy aoy/'so that, in order that'

ដោយ /daoy/'given the fact that'

ដោយសារ /daoy saa/'because of the fact that'

ព្រោះ(តែ) /dbɔh(tae)/'because; although'

ទាល់តែ /tɔ̂l tae/'until'

ទម្រាំ /tumrɔ̂m/'until; only if, provided that'

ទាល់តែ...កុំនៅ /tɔ̂h tae...kom nuw/'if it were not for the fact that...'

ទុកបើជា /tuk bəy cia/'even though; if not...then'

ទុកបើ(ជា) /tuk bae(cia)/'even though; if not...then'

ទោះ /tŋ̂h/'although, even though'

ទោះជា /tŋ̂h cia/'even though, although'

ទោះបើ(ជា) /tŋ̂h bəy(cia)/'even though, although'

ទោះបើ /tŋ̂h bae/'even though, although'

ទោះបើ(ជា) /tŋ̂h bae(cia)/'even though, although'

ហេតុជា /baan cia/'the reason why,' e.g.

ហេតុដែលគាត់ទទួលសំបុត្រ គឺដោយសារតែគាត់ផ្ញើលុយទៅឲ្យគេ

/via phñae luy tŋw baan cia via tətuol səbot/

The reason he got a letter is that he sent money.
(Literally, 'He sent money to (them) is why he got a letter.')

ហេតុជា /baan cia/ is usually used in a past context.

បើ /bae/'if'

បើសិន /bae sən/'if'

បើសិនណា /bae sən naa/'if'

បើសិនណាជា /bae sən naa cia/'if'

បើសិនជា /bae sən cia/'if'

(ពី)ព្រោះ /(pii) prɨh/'because'

លុះត្រាតែ /luh traa tae/'only if, provided that, only on condition that,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំនឹងលុះត្រាតែគាត់ធ្វើ

/khñom tɨw luh traa tae via tɨw/

I'll go only if he does.

សម្រាប់ /samrap/'for the purpose of'

សូម្បី(តែ) /soum bəy(tae)/'although, even though'

ហេតុតែ /haet tae/'just because'

ដើម្បី /dəəy/'so that'

ដើម្បីតែ /dəəy tae/'as long as, provided that'

VOCABULARY AND USAGE

U.1 Introduction

One of the biggest problems you will meet in your study of Cambodian is the fact that in many cases there will not be a one-to-one fit between Cambodian and English words. This is for two major reasons.

First, Cambodian and English-speaking societies are very different from each other; even as basic a factor as geography is widely different. English is spoken largely in temperate-climate countries; Cambodians live in a tropical land. Western technologies, philosophies, historical experiences, and religions are very different from those of Southeast Asia. Take food, for example. To a middle-class American, a meal consists usually of meat and vegetable, accompanied by some sort of carbohydrate, and perhaps dessert. To a Cambodian, especially a less affluent one, a meal is rice, generally accompanied by a much smaller amount of meat and vegetables than an American considers essential. This difference is reflected in the Cambodian word that comes closest to the English word 'meal': បាយ /baay/ literally 'cooked rice.' In English we cook food; in Cambodian a housewife must ធ្វើបាយ /thəə baay/ 'make rice' several times a day.

The second reason is the fact that people from various linguistic backgrounds slice up their perceived environment in different ways. That is, to a Cambodian, for example, a nuclear family consists of one's parents and one's older and younger siblings; to an American, on the other hand, the nuclear family is one's parents and one's male and female siblings--at least as far as the respective languages are concerned:

English words for 'sibling'	Cambodian words for 'sibling'	
brother	បង	/bɔɔŋ/ 'older sibling'
sister	ប្អូន	/p'ʔoun/ 'younger sibling'

In English the age distinction and in Cambodian the sex distinction can be expressed by adding an attributive word, e.g. 'older' in the English 'older brother' or ស្រី /srəy/ 'female' in the Cambodian បងស្រី /bɔɔŋ srəy/ 'older sister.'

A more extreme example of the difference in emphasis expressed in the kinds of distinctions made in the vocabulary of the two languages is the word 'cut.' In English there is one word 'cut' that can be used to cover many situations, all of which are so different to a Cambodian speaker that not only can he use a different word for

each situation, he must do so. Some of the Cambodian words for 'cut' are

កាត់	/kat/	to cut with scissors, to cut in two
ហាន់	/han/	to slice
មុត	/mut/	to cut oneself
កាប់	/kap/	to chop (e.g. wood), to hack
ឆ្ងៃ	/cie/	to trim all around
ច្រៀប	/crep/	to trim in spots
ច្រូត	/crout/	to cut grain in order to harvest
ចិញ្ចាំ	/ceñcam/	to chop up, to dice

To be sure, English has variants on 'cut' that correspond to some of these Cambodian words. However, 'cut' can be used in all cases to cover the basic idea; in Cambodian there is no single word.

This kind of thing happens the other way too. In Cambodian រៀន /rien/ means both 'study' and 'learn.' For you to distinguish between the two meanings to which you are accustomed when you speak Cambodian, you will have to either rely on context to clarify your meaning or will have to add additional words, e.g. រៀនចេះ/rien ceh/'to learn,' literally 'to study (and) know.'

This all means that not only will you have to learn structural patterns and words, but you will have to learn about Cambodian history, culture, customs, and attitudes before you are really in control of the language. It is not enough to know that បាយ/baay/ means 'cooked rice;' you must also learn that បាយ/baay/ means 'meal' and in some--but not all--cases, 'food.' Furthermore, to really know Cambodian and to use even a simple word like បាយ effectively, you should know what the social significance of rice is, and the role it plays in the non-meal-time life of the Cambodian people.

The rest of this section will discuss some specific vocabulary problems; the kinship system and the vocabulary used in specific types of social situation.

U.2 Cambodian Kinship

In Cambodian family relations, the most important factor is relative age. Respect is due members of the family who are older or of a higher generation; indeed, respect is due any older person. This affects the way various family members are addressed and the way they are discussed.

Ordinarily a member of a generation older than the speaker is referred to by the third-person pronoun អាស័ /kɔ̂t/; the honorific particle អញ្ជើញ /əñceəñ/ is used before verbs when the subject of the sentence refers to such a person, and formal-level vocabulary is used (cf. U.3.1). Note that when one marries into a family, one takes the same position as one's spouse, even though one may be older than some of the spouse's older relatives. For example a man calls all his wife's older siblings ប្អូន /bɔɔŋ/ even if he is older than they.

The kinship terms listed and described below are extremely important. You will need to know them to address many of the Cambodians you meet, especially those who are the same age, younger, or of similar or lower social status. After the kinship terms themselves are introduced, their application to non-relatives will be presented.

In the following tables, the term 0-generation means those relatives who are the same generation as the person in question. Plus 1 generation means first ascending generation, or those relatives of the same generation as the person's parents; minus 1 generation means first descending generation, or the person's children's generation. Plus 2 generation is the grandparents' generation, etc.

0 Generation

Title			Addressed as:	3rd-person pronoun
ប្អូន	bɔɔŋ	older sibling	ប្អូន /bɔɔŋ/	អាស័ /kɔ̂t/
ប្អូន	p'oun	younger sibling	ប្អូន /p'oun/, ប្អូន អូន /oun/, ឯង /aəŋ/, name, or name + ឯង	គេ /kee/, គាត់ /via/
បងប្អូនជីដូនមួយ	bɔɔŋ ciidoun muoy	first cousin (older)	ប្អូន /bɔɔŋ/	like ប្អូន
ប្អូនប្អូនជីដូនមួយ	p'oun ciidoun muoy	first cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
បងប្អូនជីតាមួយ	bɔɔŋ ciituot muoy	second cousin (older)	ប្អូន /bɔɔŋ/	like ប្អូន
ប្អូនប្អូនជីតាមួយ	p'oun ciituot muoy	second cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
related by marriage:				
ប្ដី	pdəy	husband	ប្អូន /bɔɔŋ/, ប្អូនឯង /bɔɔŋ aəŋ/	អាស័ /kɔ̂t/
ប្រពន្ធ	pəpun	wife	អូន /oun/, អូនឯង /oun aəŋ/	អាស័ /kɔ̂t/, គេ /kee/

Title			Addressed as:	3rd-person pronoun
បងថ្លៃ ប្អូនថ្លៃ	bɔɔŋ thlay p'oun thlay	1 spouse's sibling or sibling's spouse, respectively, older and younger	បង /bɔɔŋ/ and ប្អូន /p'oun/	like បង and ប្អូន
បងសាច់ថ្លៃ ប្អូនសាច់ថ្លៃ	bɔɔŋ sac thlay p'oun sac thlay	1 sibling of sibling's spouse, respectively older and younger	បង /bɔɔŋ/ and ប្អូន /p'oun/	like បង and ប្អូន
ដន្លង	donlɔɔŋ	parent of child's spouse	/donlɔɔŋ/	/kɔ̂t/

+1 Generation

			Addressed as:[2]
ឪពុក	ʔəwpuk	father	1) ប៉ា /paa/ 2) រលាកប៉ា/look paa/, រលាកឪពុក /look ʔəwpuk/ 3) ពុក /puk/ 4) ឪ /ʔə/
ម្ដាយ	mdaay	mother	1) ម៉ាក់ /maʔ/ 2) រលាកម៉ាក់/look maʔ/, ស្រីម៉ាក់ /neʔ maʔ/, ស្រីអែម /neʔ mae/, ស្រីម្ដាយ /neʔ mdaay/ 3,4) អែម /mae/
ឪពុកធំ ស្ទីង	ʔəwpuk thom, ʔom	parent's older brother	1) ប៉ាអ៊ំ /paa ʔom/ 2) រលាកអ៊ំ/look ʔom/ 3,4) អ៊ំ /ʔom/
ម្ដាយធំ អ៊ំ	mdaay thom, ʔom	parent's older sister	1) ម៉ាក់អ៊ំ /maʔ ʔom/ 2) រលាកអ៊ំ/look ʔom/ 3,4) អ៊ំ /ʔom/
ឪពុកមា មា, ពូ	ʔəwpuk mia, mia, puu	parent's younger brother	1) មា /mia/ 2) រលាកមា/look mia/ រលាកពូ /look puu/ 3,4) ពូ /puu/ 1,2,3,4) ប៉ាមា /mia/
ម្ដាយមីង មីង	mdaay miiŋ, miiŋ	parent's younger sister	1) ស្រីមីង /neʔ miiŋ/ 2) រលាកមីង/look miiŋ/ 3) មីង /miiŋ/ 4) ម៉ី /ʔii/

related by marriage:

ឪពុកក្មេក	ʔəwpuk kmeek	father-in-law	see ឪពុក /ʔəwpuk/
ម្ដាយក្មេក	mdaay kmeek	mother-in-law	see ម្ដាយ /mdaay/
ឪពុកធំសាច់ថ្លៃ	ʔəwpuk thom sac thlay	older brother of parent-in-law	see ឪពុកធំ /ʔəwpuk thom/

1. Some Cambodians do not distinguish in this way between បងប្អូនថ្លៃ /bɔɔŋ p'oun thlay/ and បងប្អូនសាច់ថ្លៃ/bɔɔŋ p'oun sac thlay/; សាច់ថ្លៃ /sac thlay/ may be simply a general term for in-laws, e.g. គាសាច់ថ្លៃនេះ/via sac thlay tee/'They're just in-laws.' (Franklin Huffman, personal communication)

2. The numbers refer to the following groups: 1) urban, heavily influenced by French 2) urban, upper class, less French influence 3) urban, ordinary social status 4) rural

Title			Addressed as:
ម្តាយចុងសាច់ប្តី	medaay thom sac thlay	older sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយចុង /medaay thom/
ទួតកចុងសាច់ប្តី	ɓwpuk mia sac thlay	younger brother of parent-in-law	see ទួតក /ɓwpuk mia/
ម្តាយមីងសាច់ប្តី	medaay miiŋ sac thlay	younger sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយមីង /medaay miiŋ/

All members of this generation are referred to by the pronoun គាត់ /kɔ̀t/.

+2 Generation

Title			Addressed as:
ជីតា	ciitaa	male member of grandfather's generation	លោកតា /look taa/, តា /taa/
ជីដូន	ciidoun	female member of grandmother's generation	លោកយាយ /look yiey/, យាយ /yiey/, (rural) ដូន /doun/
(by marriage)			
ជីតាក្មេក	ciitaa kmeek	male member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនក្មេក	ciidoun kmeek	female member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+3 Generation

ជីតាទួត	ciitaa tuot	male member of great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនទួត	ciidoun tuot	female member of great grandfather's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+4 Generation

ជីតាស្នួត	ciitaa luot	male member of great-great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនស្នួត	ciidoun luot	female member of great-great grandmother's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+5 Generation

ជីតាលា	ciitaa lia	male member of great-great-great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនលា	ciidoun lia	female member of great-great-great grandmother's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

In all cases the 3rd-person pronoun is គាត់ /kɔ̀t/.

-1 Generation

Title			Addressed as:
កូន	koun	child	កូន /koun/, អានាង /aanian/, នាង /nian/, name, អា /aa/ + name
ក្មួយ	kmuoy	niece or nephew	ក្មួយ /kmuoy/, អានាង /aanian/, នាង /nian/, name or អា /aa/ + name
កូនប្រសា	koun prosaa	son or daughter-in-law	កូន /koun/; ណង /nɔ̀ŋ/ + name (male); name (female)

-2 Generation

ចៅ	caw	any member of grandchild's generation	ចៅ /caw/, អាចៅ /aacaw/; otherwise like កូន except that កូន /koun/ is not used
ចៅប្រសា	caw prosaa	grandchild-in-law	ចៅ /caw/; name

-3 Generation

ចៅទួត	caw tuot	any member of great-grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

-4 Generation

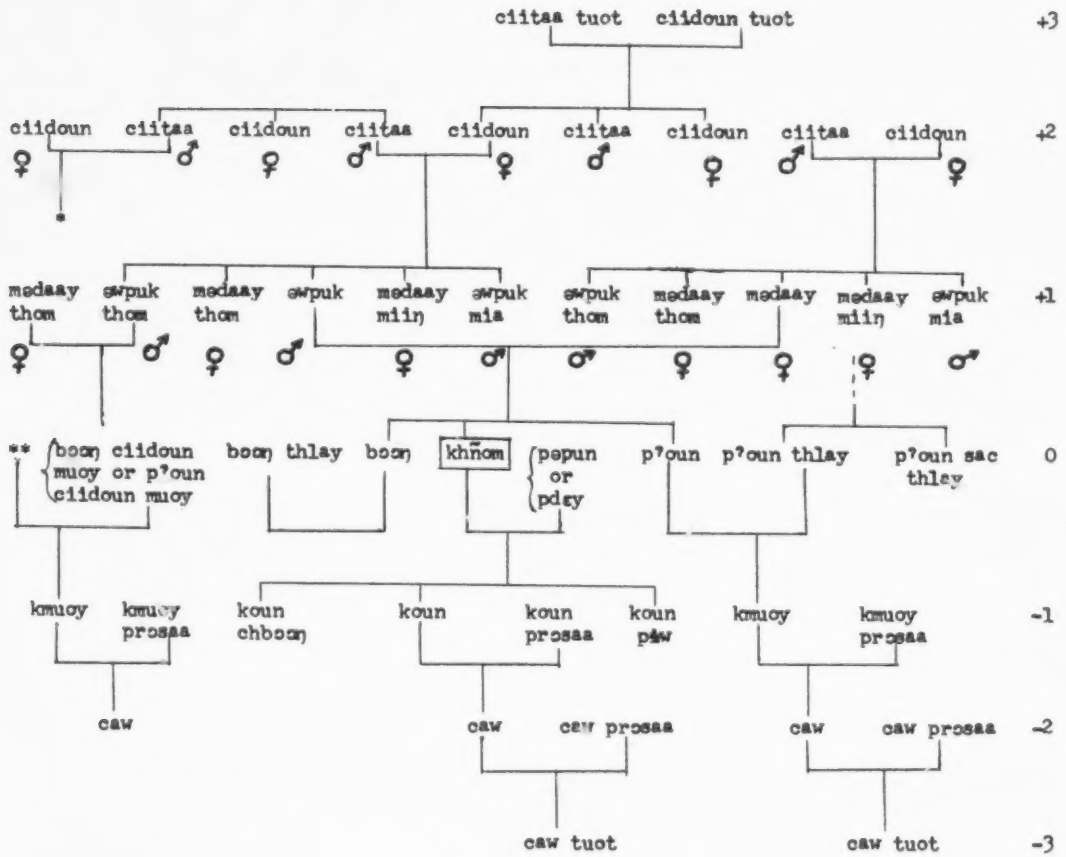
ចៅលួត	caw luot	any member of great-great grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

-5 Generation

ចៅលា	caw lia	any member of great-great-great grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

In all cases the 3rd-person pronouns are គេ /kee/ or វា /via/.

Cambodian Kinship


ciitaa tuot ciidoun tuot +3
ciidoun ciitaa ciidoun ciitaa ciidoun ciitaa ciidoun ciitaa ciidqun +2
medaay thom swpuk thom medaay thom swpuk medaay miin swpuk mia swpuk thom medaay thom medaay medaay miin swpuk mia +1
** boan ciidoun muoy or p'oun ciidoun muoy boan thlay boan khnom pepun or pdey p'oun p'oun thlay p'oun sac thlay 0
kmuoy kmuoy prosaa koun chboan koun koun prosaa koun paw kmuoy kmuoy prosaa -1
caw caw caw prosaa caw caw prosaa -2
caw tuot caw tuot -3

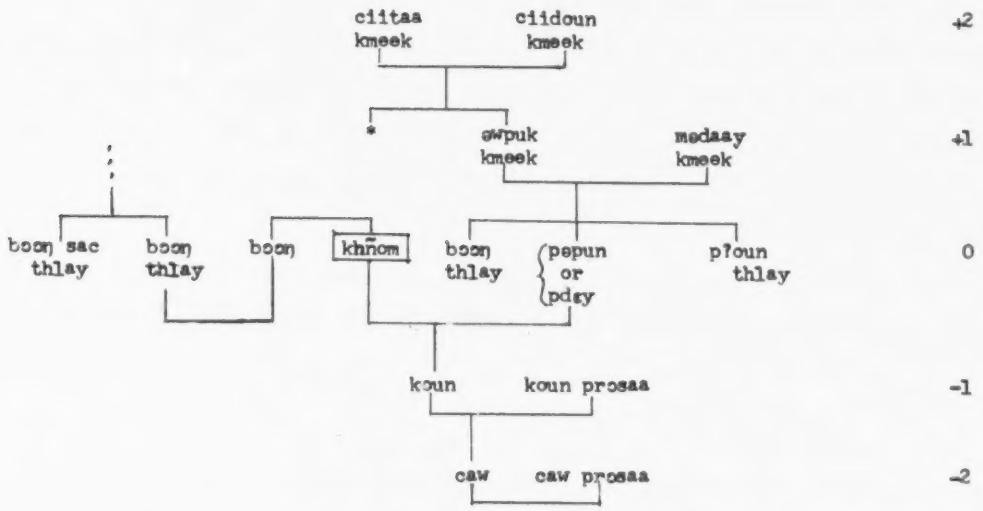
* swpuk-medaay thom/mia/miin

** boan-p'oun cii doun muoy thlay

married

or descended from

Cambodian Kinship: In-Laws



* ewpuk-medaay thom/mia/miin sac thlay

U.3 The Effects of International Relations on Language

In relating to Cambodians, you will have to keep in mind that your identity does not remain stable. In English, you refer to yourself as 'I' in all cases, and you address others as 'you.' While in fact you don't relate to everyone in the same way, at least you have that much stability in your identity. However, even the way a Cambodian translates 'I' and 'you' shifts with almost every person he meets.

The term you have learned for 'I' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ will serve you as a foreigner in most contacts with urban Cambodians. However, a Cambodian learns how to use pronouns like អញ /añ/, kinship terms, and titles to refer to himself, depending on his sense of how he relates to his interlocutor.

When you address people you will have a harder time. Here you must come to think like a Cambodian, since there is no word for 'you' like ខ្ញុំ /khñom/'I' that you can rely on to be appropriate in most situations. You must become aware of the same kinds of distinctions as Cambodians are aware of; the biggest difference will be that Cambodians do it almost automatically; you will have to think about it for a long time

to come.

The problem is complicated by the fact that there are differences in usage between urban and rural speakers, between people from different parts of the country, and between urban people of different social classes. The following discussion cannot be exhaustive, but we will try to give you enough to start with. As you get the chance to associate with Cambodians, listen carefully to how they address and discuss each other and how they refer to themselves.

The first distinction we can make is the way you address and discuss people with whom you are on formal and non-formal terms. Within each of these categories further distinctions are made.

U.3.1 Formal Relations

Formal relationships obtain between you and royalty, clergy and commoners to whom you wish to show respect. Since 1970 and the declaration of the Khmer Republic, there is little need for terms referring to royalty in speech, but they are widely used in pre-1970 writings and in post-1970 writing that refers to the royalty of another country, e.g. the King of Laos or Thailand. They are also used in legends and folk stories and in histories.

Royalty and monks are addressed and discussed using not only 'pronouns' different from each other and from those used with high ranking commoners but also with vocabulary substitutions for many other common verbs and nouns, e.g. 'to eat:' royalty ព្រះសោយ /saoy/, clergy ឆាន់ /chan/ and commoners to whom you want to show respect សិសា /pisaa/. (There are other words that distinguish between people with whom you are not on formal terms, e.g. at mealtimes most urban people ញ៉ាំ /ñam/; children and animals and people whom you hold in contempt ស៊ី /sii/).

Pronoun Substitutes

Used to or about royalty

1st person

ខ្ញុំលបង្គំ(ជា)ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់	/tuul bɔŋkum (cia) khñom mbah/ (to king)
ខ្ញុំលបង្គំ	/tuul bɔŋkum/ (to other royalty)
ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់	/khñom mbah/ (to other royalty)
ខ្ញុំលបង្គំជាខ្ញុំ	/tuul bɔŋkum cia khñom/ (to other royalty)

2nd person

ព្រះអង្គ /prɔ̆h ɔŋ/ (to king or other royalty)

ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ (to other royalty)

3rd person

ព្រះអង្គ /prɔ̆h ɔŋ/ (of any royalty)

Used by royalty

1st person

ទ្រង់ញុំ /truŋ añ/ (king)

ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ (other royalty)

ម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំ /mcah khñom/ (other royalty)

2nd person

to commoner: លោក /look/ (to upper class commoner)

ឯង /aŋ/ (to lower class commoner)

អ្នក /nɔ̆?/ (neutral class reference)

etc. according to social class (cf. N.1.2)

to royalty: ព្រះអង្គ /prɔ̆h ɔŋ/

ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ + kinship terms (with older members of own family)

3rd person

of commoner: នាង /kee/, ឆ្នាស់ /kɔ̆t/, វា /via/,

according to social standing of referent

of royalty: ព្រះអង្គ /prɔ̆h ɔŋ/

Used to or about clergy

1st person

ខ្ញុំ(ព្រះ)ករុណា /khñom (prɛ) kɔnna/

2nd person

ព្រះនាងៃព្រះករុណា /prɔdaacprakun/

3rd person

លោក /look/

ព្រះអង្គ /prɔ̆h ɔŋ/

ព្រះនាងៃព្រះករុណា /prɔdaacprakun/ + name (used of high ranking monk)

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Used by clergy

1st person

អាត្មា /atmaa/

2nd person

ញោម /ñoom/ (to parent and to acquaintance of parents' age)

otherwise as listed below according to age and social status.

3rd person

ចៅ /via/, គេ /kee/, ឯកន្ត /kɔ̀t/ or title as usual.

Used to or about commoners (with whom one is on formal terms)

1st person

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/

2nd person

លោក /look/ (used with males of equivalent or higher social status)

លោកស្រី /look sray/ (used with married females of higher social status and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women)

អ្នក /nɔ̀ʔ/ (used for older women of lower status and for one's mother in អ្នកម្តាយ /nɔ̀ʔ mɔdaay/'mother.')

អ្នកស្រី /nɔ̀ʔ sray/ (used with women of middle class, especially married women)

នាង /niaŋ/ (used with unmarried women or with married women of ordinary social status.)

កញ្ញា /kaññaa/ (used with unmarried women; quite formal)

Titles, e.g. លោកគ្រូ /look kruu/'(male) teacher' are also used in place of 2nd person pronouns.

3rd person

គេ /kee/ (used of people in general ('they say...'); people for whom respect need not be shown)

ឯកន្ត /kɔ̀t/ (used of individuals (singular or plural), especially those for whom one wishes to show respect)

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U.3.2 Non-formal Relationships

Non-formal relationships obtain between you and people with whom you are on friendly or intimate terms or people of lower social status, especially servants and shopkeepers. It is in this kind of relationship that kinship terms are used extensively as second-person forms. (cf. also N.1.2)

1st person

1. ខ្ញុំ /añ/ (intimate or vulgar)
2. ខ្ញុំ /khñom (non-formal)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in intimate relations outside the family. (see below, under 2nd person)
4. យើង /yəəŋ/'we,' 'I'
5. អញ /kee/, វា /via/ (used by people who know each other well)

2nd person

1. ឯង /aeŋ/ (intimate or contemptuous)
2. Name of person addressed (intimate)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in non-formal relations outside the family, as follows.

Older: បង /bɔɔŋ/'older sibling' used with older siblings and acquaintances of equivalent or slightly greater age and of the same sex.

ស៊ែ /cae/(Chinese) for female បង /bɔɔŋ/

ហ៊ីា (ឧហ្ក) /hia/(Chinese) for male បង /bɔɔŋ/

ពូ /puu/, ម្ម /mia/, ចិក /cek/ (Chinese) 'uncle younger than parent' used with uncle younger than one's parent or a male acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker.

មីង /miiŋ/, អ៊ី /ii/ (Chinese) 'aunt younger than parent' used with aunt younger than one's parent or a female acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status t[illegible] speaker.

អុំ	/om/	'uncle or aunt older than parent' used with uncle or aunt older than parent or with acquaintance of parents' generation but older than parents.
ចេក	/cek/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for male អុំ /om/
អ៊ី	/ii/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for female អុំ /om/
តា / ជីតា / កុង	/taa/ /ciitaa/) /koŋ/ (Chinese)	'grandfather' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker. (One's grandfather is called ឪពុកតា /look taa/.
យាយ / ជីដូន / យាយ	/doun/ /ciidoun/) /yiey/	'grandmother' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker. (One's grandmother is called (ម្តាយ) យាយ /(look) yiey/.

Youngers:

ប្អូន	/p'oun/	'younger sibling' used with a younger sibling or younger acquaintance of any age
អូន	/oun/	
ក្មួយ	/kmuoy/	'nephew or niece' used with a nephew or niece or with a younger acquaintance of any age.
ក្មេង	/kmeŋ/	'child, miss' used with unmarried women, married women of ordinary social standing, and children under 20 or persons at least 10 years younger.

ចៅ /caw/ 'grandchild' used with grandchildren and children under 20 or persons at least 30 or so years younger.

A husband normally calls his wife អូន / oun/ (from អូន 'younger sibling'), and this is the first person 'pronoun' that the wife uses in talking to her husband. Conversely, the wife calls her husband បង /boŋ/'older brother,' and he calls himself ប្អូន /bɔɔn/ when addressing his wife.

3rd person

1. អ្នកនាង /kɔ̀t/ (used for people whom you know as individuals and for whom you feel respect)
2. គេ /kee/ (used for people in general, for people younger than you or lower in status)
3. វា /via/ (used for animals, things, and small children; also used to indicate contempt)

As noted at U.3, social relationships are expressed not only by pronoun substitutes, but also by choice of the proper verb where several are possible. Fortunately for the foreign learner, the verbs which must be selected according to social criteria are limited; they refer for the most part to such common activities as eating, sleeping, and speaking. A list of the most common is given below. In this list the designations of social level are as follows:

Vulgar means used to or about animals, children, people for whom one need not show much respect or for whom one feels contempt.

Ordinary means used to or about people with whom one is on informal terms but to whom it would be inappropriate to use a vulgar term.

Formal means used to or about people with whom one is on formal terms.

Clerical means used to or about a priest or monk.

Royal means used to or about royalty.

Motion verbs and a few other verbs which are not replaced by another verb at the three highest levels are preceded by an honorific: formal ស្តេច /sɑ̃cee̯ɑ̃/, clerical និមន្ត /nimun/, and royal ទ្រង់ /trɔŋ/.

For example:

គាត់អញ្ជើញមកហើយ។

/kŏt ɑɔɔɔɔ̃ móo hɑəy/

he (honorific) come already

He's come already.

If you were speaking of clergy, you would say

លោកនិមន្តមកហើយ។

/look nimɨn móo hɑəy/

he (clergy)(honorific) come already

He's come already.

If you were speaking of royalty, you would say

ព្រះអង្គយាងមកហើយ។

/pre ɑŋ triŋ yiaŋ móo hɑəy/

he (royalty)(honorific) go (royal) come already

He's come already.

(Note the change in the translation of 'he' in these three cases.) Even formal verbs like ពិសា /pisaa/'eat' may be preceded by one of the honorific particles, e.g.

លោកអញ្ជើញពិសាអ្វី?

/look ɑɔɔɔɔ̃ pisaa ɑʏ?/

sir (honorific) eat what

What are you eating?

In the following table of verb alternates there are numbers to indicate who may use certain forms. For example, you may not use ពិសា /pisaa/'eat' when talking of yourself; instead you must use ទទួលទាន/tətuol tian/'eat' when you speak of yourself at the formal style level. Thus the following interchange is appropriate:

A: លោកពិសាបាយឬនៅ

/look pisaa baay hɑəy rɨt nɨw/

sir eat rice already or not-yet

Have you eaten yet?

B: បាទ ខ្ញុំទទួលទានហើយ។

/baat khñom tətuol-tian hɑəy/

yes I eat already

Yes, I've eaten already.

The letter (a) means that the form is used in the first person, (b) means that it is used only in the second and third persons, and no letter means that it is used in all three persons.

There are also some nouns which are chosen according to similar considerations, e.g. ចង្ហាន់ /coŋhan/'monks' food' (from ឆាន់ /chan/'to eat (clerical).' Such nouns are much less frequent than the verbs and do not range through all the style levels.

TABLE

Style-Determined Verbs

	Vulgar	Ordinary	Formal	Clergy	Royalty
to eat	ស៊ី	ស៊ី ញ៉ាំ	សីសា ទទួលទាន	ឆាន់	ទតាយ
	/sii/	/sii/ /ñam/[3]	/pisăa/(b) /tetuol tian/(a)	/chan/	/sacy/
	ទៅ	ទៅ	អនស្តើញ្ចេញទៅ	ដំណន្តរទៅ	យាងទៅ
to go/ come	ចេក	ចេក	អនស្តើញ្ចេញចេក	ដំណន្តចេក	យាងចេក
	/tɨw/	/tɨw/	/əñceəñ tɨw/	/nimuñ tɨw/	/yiaŋ tɨw/
	/móo/	/móo/	/əñceəñ móo/	/nimin móo/	/yiaŋ móo/
				/nimin/	/yiaŋ/
to drink	ផឹក	ផឹក ញ៉ាំ	សីសា ទទួលទាន	ឆាន់	ទតាយ
	/phɨk/	/phɨk/ /ñam/[4]	/pisaa/(b) /tetuol tian/(a)	/chan/	/sacy/
to sleep	ដេក	ដេក ទតង	សម្រន្ត ទទួលទានដំណេក	សីង	ផ្ទំ
	/dek/	/dek/ /keeŋ/[5]	/samran/(b) /tetuol tian damnek/(a)	/seŋ/	/phtum/
to be born	កើត	កើត	កើត	កើត	ប្រសូត កើត
	/kaat/	/kaat/	/kaat/	/kaat/	/prasoot/(b) /kaat/(a)
to die	ងាប់	ស្លាប់ ទិវង្គត	ស្លាប់ ទិវង្គត អស្សុរិនិត ឋិតង្គិវ័ត	សុគត ស្លាប់	សុគត ស្លាប់
	/ŋɔ̆p/	/nɔ̆p/ /slap/ /khouc/(b)	/slap/ /morona?/(b) /ah ciwit/ /phot ciwit/	/sokdt/(b) /slap/(a)	/sokft/(b) /slap/(a)

3. ស៊ី /sii/ and ហូប/houp/ are used in areas outside of Phnom Penh; in such areas ញ៉ាំ /ñam/ is used only in the family with children. However, in Phnom Penh, the usual word is ញ៉ាំ /ñam/.

4. Cf. note 3. ផឹក is used like ស៊ី ; ញ៉ាំ is used more in Phnom Penh than in the provinces.

5. Cf. note one. ដេក is used like ស៊ី ; ទតង is used in Phnom Penh for adults, elsewhere for children.

	Vulgar	Ordinary	Formal	Clergy	Royalty
to look/ read	ទមើល /meel/	ទមើល /meel/	អាន /aan/	ទមើល /meel/ អាន /aan/	ទត /tóot/(b) ទមើល /meel/(a)
to invite	ទហូ /haw/ ប្រាប /prap/	ទហូ /haw/	អញ្ជើញ /añceen/(b) ទហូ /haw/(a)	និមន្ត /nimún/	យាង /yiaŋ/(b) ទហូ /haw/(a)
to live, stay	ទនៅ /nów/	ទនៅ /nów/	ទនៅ /nów/	គង់ /kŭŋ/ ទនៅ /nów/(a)	គង់ /kŭŋ/(b) ទនៅ /nów/(a)
to give	ទុយ /aoy/	ទុយ /aoy/	ជូន /cuun/(b) ទុយ /aoy/(a)	ប្រទាន /prokeen/	ថ្វាយ /thvaay/
to set	អង្គុយ /oŋkúy/	អង្គុយ /oŋkúy/	អង្គុយ /oŋkúy/	គង់ /kŭŋ/(b) អង្គុយ /oŋkúy/(a)	គង់ /kŭŋ/(b) អង្គុយ /oŋkúy/(a)
to speak	និយាយ /niyiey/	និយាយ /niyiey/	មានប្រសាសន៍ /mian prosah/(b) និយាយ /niyiey/(a)	មានព្រះឱង្ការ /mian putdey-kaa/(b) និយាយ /niyiey/(a)	មានបន្ទូល /mian bontuul/(b) និយាយ /niyiey/(a)
to sign	ស៊ីនញ /sĭñee/	ស៊ីនញ /sĭñee/	ចុះហត្ថលេខា /coh hattaleekha/	ចុះហត្ថលេខា /coh hatta-leekha/	ឡាយព្រះហស្ត /laay pre hoh/(b) ស៊ីនញ /sĭñee/(a)
to think	គិត /kət/	គិត /kət/	រំគិត /rŏhkət/	គិត /kət/	ត្រង់ព្រះនលៀះ /trŭŋ preh dəərih/ ព្រះនលៀះ /preh dəərih/(b) គិត /kət/(a)
to walk	ទដើរ /dae/	ទដើរ /dae/	អញ្ជើញទដើរ /añceen dae/(b) ទដើរ /dae/(a)	និមន្តទដើរ /nimún dae/(b) /dae/(a)	យាងទដើរ ឬ ព្រះបាទ /yiaŋ daoy preh baat/(b) ទដើរ /dae/(a)

APPENDIX A

Summaries of Some Important Words

X.1 Summary of ជាន /baan/:

1. 'to get':

ខ្ញុំចង់ជានលុយ។

/khñom coŋ baan luy/

I want (to get) some money.

2. 'to experience something desirable, to get to':

គាជានរដ្ឋការដ្ឋយកុំយេរតាវរៀន។

/via baan rɔ́tte kaa cuoy aoy tɨw rien/

He was helped to study by the government.

This use of ជាន /baan/ is usually translated by an English passive.

3. past tense marker:

គេជានប្រាប់យើងពីព្រឹក(នេល)ព្រឹក។

/kee baan prap yeeŋ pii(peel) prɨk/

They told us this morning.

4. 'can, to be able':

ខ្ញុំមិនជាន។

/khñom tɨw mɨn baan/

I can't go.

5. before a quantity of completed work:

ខ្ញុំមើលរួចនិងជានពីរក្បាល។

/khñom mɨəl sophiw baan pii kbaal/

I read (and finished) two volumes.

6. 'for...' (duration of time):

គាវៀនជានពីរសាទ្យ។

/via rien baan pii sattɨ/

He studied for two weeks.

7. 'not...until':

ដល់រមាំងពីរបានខ្ញុំទៅ។

/dol maoŋ pii baan khñom tɨw/

I won't go until two o'clock.

Note that in this usage បាន /baan/ is a fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.1) coming between the condition ដល់រមាំងពីរ (/dol maoŋ pii/ 'reach two o'clock') and the contingent event ខ្ញុំទៅ /khñom tɨw/'I'll go.').

8. 'always' in បានទៀត /baan tae/:

កុំបានទៀតនិយាយ។

/kom baan tae niyiey/

Don't always be talking.

9. 'to get to':

ទំណុកខ្ញុំមិនបានទៅទេ។

/s'ɑk khñom mɨn baan tɨw tee/

I won't get to go tomorrow.

This is really a special case of #2 above.

X.2 Summary of ឲ្យ /aoy/:

1. 'to give':

សុំឲ្យលុយខ្ញុំ។

/som aoy luy khñom/

Please give me some money.

2. plus adjective, with the meaning 'so that it will be...':

a. following imperative:

សុំរៀនឲ្យច្បាស់។

/som riəl aoy cbah/

Please read clearly.

b. causative, following ធ្វើ /thee/:

ខ្ញុំធ្វើទុំយពិបាក។

/khñom thee aoy pibaa'/

I made (it) difficult.

3. causative:

គេទុំយខ្ញុំរៀនខ្មែរ។

/kee aoy khñom rien khmae/

They had me study Cambodian, or

They let me study Cambodian.

4. 'for, to':

ខ្ញុំធ្វើទុំយវា។

/khñom thee aoy via/

I did it for him.

Note that formal style replaces ទុំយ /aoy/ by ជូន /cuun/, e.g.

វាធ្វើជូនលោក។

/via thee cuun look/

He did it for you (sir).

5. 'I wish you...':

សុំទុំយមានសំណាង។

/som aoy mian sɑmnaaŋ/

I wish you luck.

6. 'provided that' in ទុំយតែ /aoy tae/:

ទុំយតែស្រួលអញ្ចឹងម៉ាវហើយ។

/aoy tae sruol añ tɨw haey/

Provided it's easy, I'll go.

Note that ឲ្យតែ /aoy tae/ is a non-fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.2.2).

X.3 Summary of ដោយ /daoy/:

In the following uses, ដោយ /daoy/ is a formal or elegant version of តាម /taam/'to follow.' In these uses ដោយ /daoy/ is not heard much in speech.

1. 'by means of (with transportation):

គេមកដោយឡាន។
/kee mɔ́ɔ daoy laan/
They came by car.

2. 'according to':

ដោយយោបល់ខ្ញុំ។
/daoy yoobɔl khñom/
'according to my opinion.'

3. 'along': ដោយទន្លេ /daoy tunlee/'along the river.'

In the following uses, ដោយ /daoy/ is not equivalent to តាម /taam/. Uses 4-7 occur less often in speech than do uses 8-9.

4. 'by means of':

គេសរសេរដោយខ្មៅដៃ។
/kee tesee daoy khmaw day/
They write with a pencil.

In this usage ដោយ /daoy/ is quite literary. The usual word for 'by means of' is ដែរ /nɨŋ/, e.g.

គេសរសេរដែរខ្មៅដៃ។
/kee tesee nɨŋ khmaw day/
They write with a pencil.

5. 'by' (plus an agent):

សៀវភៅក្បាលនេះសរសេរដោយពូខ្ញុំ។
/siewphiw nɨŋ tesee daoy puu khñom/
That book was written by my uncle.

6. forms adverb phrases when before an adjective:

គាត់ធ្វើដោយពិបាក។
/kɔ́t thee daoy pibaa?/
He did it with difficulty.

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7. forms adverbial clauses (cf. S.3):

ទាត្រូវរៀនដោយសារមិនចេះខ្មែរ។

/via trew rien daoy via mɨn cəh khmae/

He must study since he doesn't know Cambodian.

The compound relator ដោយសារថា/daoy thaa/ is similarly used.

8. ដោយសារ /daoy saa/ means 'because of, because':

ខ្ញុំមានលុយដោយសារគាត់។

/khñom mian luy daoy saa kɔ̂t/

I have money because of him.

9. ទោះដោយ /kɔɔ daoy/ means 'even though':

គាត់ចេះប្រាជ្ញទោះដោយ ខ្ញុំនៅតែមិនទុកចិត្តលើគាត់។

/kɔ̂t cəh craən kɔɔ daoy, khñom nɨw tae mɨn tuk cət lee kɔ̂t/

Even if he knows a lot, I still don't trust him.

ទោះដោយ /kɔɔ daoy/ following an indefinite word (cf. S.4.3) means 'any....', e.g.

នគេយោយអ្វីក៏ទោះដោយ។

/kee niyiey ʔy kɔɔ daoy/

They'll say anything.

X.4 Summary of នឹង /nɨŋ/:

1. 'will' (future auxiliary):

នគេនឹងប្រាប់រំលឹក។

/kee nɨŋ prap sʔaɜk/

They'll tell (us) tomorrow.

2. 'by means of':

យើងញុំនឹងដៃ។

/yeaŋ ñam nɨŋ day/

We eat with our hands.

3. 'with':

ខ្ញុំនឹងទៅជាមួយគាត់

/khñom tɨw nɨŋ kɔ̂t/

I'll go with him.

4. 'and':

សុខនិងសឹមបានទៅមើលភាពយន្ត។

/sok nɨŋ sɨm tɨw mael kon/

Sok and Sim went to see a movie.

5. 'still, stable':

កូនខ្ញុំឈរនឹងរហែយ។

/koun khñom chŏo nɨŋ haey/

My child stood quite still.

The word នេះ /neŋ/'this/that' is often pronounced នឹង /nɨŋ/, especially in fast speech in Phnom Penh.

X.5 Summary of រហែយ /haey/

1. 'already':

គេបានមើលភាពយន្តនោះរហែយ។

/kee maal kon nuh haey/

They've already seen that movie.

2. in the future, means 'and it's no longer an issue' (implies a promise):

ខ្ញុំនឹងធ្វើដូចនេះរហែយ។

/khñom nɨŋ thae[illegible]ŋ haey/

I'll do (it) that way.

3. 'and', used between clauses:

គាត់ទៅ រហែយខ្ញុំនៅ។

/kɔ̂t tɨw haey khñom nɨw/

He went, and I stayed.

4. 'to be complete':

ទៀងឲ្យរួចរាល់ទៅ

/thee aoy hasy tɨw/

Get it finished.

5. 'to finish' (resultative verb):

ទៅមិនទាន់រួចរាល់ទេ

/yeen thee mɨn hasy tee/

We can't finish (it).

X.6 Summary of ទៅ /tɨw/:

1. 'to go':

ទៅឆ្នាំក្រោយខ្មែរនឹងទៅប្រកាសៅ

/yeen tɨw srok khmaː khaː kraoy/

We're going to Cambodia next month.

2. motion away from the speaker:

សុំយកវត្ថុទាំងនោះទៅ

/som yóo tyvan nuh tɨw/

Please take those things away. (follows the verb phrase)

3. events in future time:

ប្រកាសទៅ ទៅមុខត្រូវខំបន្ថែមៗ

/kraoy tɨw, yeen troŋ khɨm ntɛɛc/

From now on, we'll have to try harder.

4. imperative:

និយាយខ្មែរទៅ

/niyiey khmaː tɨw/

Speak Cambodian! (used at end of clause)

APPENDIX B

Cambodian Names and Titles

B.1 Structure

As in much of the rest of East Asia, the name of an individual in Cambodia has two parts, which are called នាមត្រកូល /niam trokool/'surname' and នាមខ្លួន /niam khluon/'given name.' The នាមត្រកូល /niam trokool/ or surname comes first. All ethnic groups in Cambodia follow this system, though the given name may have two parts in the case of Chinese and Vietnamese, e.g. អាំង ប៊ុន ហៃ /aŋ bun hay/'Ang Bun Hai,' in which អាំង /aŋ/'Ang' is the surname and ប៊ុនហៃ/bun hay/'Bun Hai' are the two parts of the given name.

B.1.1 The Surname

Ethnic Khmer names do not always follow a consistent pattern, perhaps as a result of the fact that surnames were not introduced into Cambodia until 1910. The surname is assigned variously in different families. Probably the most common pattern is to give children the given name of their paternal grandfather as surname, so that in a family in which the paternal grandfather is named កែង យិម/kaeŋ yim/'KENG Yim' and the father is named កែត ឡូច/kaet loc/'KET Loch,' a male child might be named យិម ខែត/yim khaet/'YIM Khet.' Sometimes a female child in such a family is given her maternal grandfather's given name, but usually she receives the paternal grandfather's name also.

Some other families give the children their father's surname, as in Western countries. In such a family the three generations would be named កែង យិម /kaeŋ yim/ 'KENG Yim,' កែង ឡូច /kaeŋ loc/'KENG Loch,' and កែង ខែត /kaeŋ khaet/'KENG Khet.'

Yet other families assign both surname and given names as if both were given names, without reference to the names of other members of the family. Thus, for instance, in such a family, the members of the three generations might be named កែង យិម /kaeŋ yim/'KENG Yim,' កែត ឡូច /kaet loc/'KET Loch,' and កែម ខែត /kaem khaet/ 'KEM Khet.'

Yet other families assign the great-grandfather's name as surname. In addition, a person may change his or her name as an adult, choosing a name that is totally unlike the names of other members of the family.

There is also a case of a man who has as surname both his parents' surnames, e.g. the child of KEM Sos and KHAY Toura might be known as KEM-KHAY Ketera.

B.1.2 The Given Name

Given names are generally chosen for euphony and, if the name has meaning, for the meaning. Siblings of the same sex are often given alliterative names, so that three brothers, for example, might be named សាន /saan/'Sann,' សន /soon/'Sân,' សុស /soh/'Sos,' or three sisters in the same family might be named ឌី /dii/'Di,' ដន /doon/'Dan,' and ដូម /dom/'Dom.' Such names need have no meaning at all, being chosen because their sound is pleasing to the parents.

When Khmers give names that have meaning, they normally take names either from the Cambodian language, e.g. ឈូឡាប /koulaap/'rose,' or from Sanskrit or Pali, e.g. សុរម្យរិទ្ធ /Suramarit/'virtuous and immortal.'

Cambodians who have been influenced by Western culture may give European, especially French, names to their children. They do not ordinarily give Chinese or Vietnamese names unless one parent is Chinese or Vietnamese.

Names of members of the royal family come from Sanskrit and Pali and are normally polysyllabic, e.g. Suramarit, Indravavong, etc. contrasting with names of Khmer origin, which are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic. The present royal family has two main branches, NORODOM and SISOWATH,[1] and each member of the royal family bears one or the other as surname. Members of the royal family are referred to either by both surname and given name, e.g. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, or by given name alone, e.g. Prince Sihanouk.

B.2 Usage

Ordinarily members of a family do not address each other by name but rather use kinship titles (see section U.3.2 above), e.g. បង /boŋ/'older sibling.' Kinship terms like 'uncle' or 'younger sibling' are also used to address acquaintances and friends.

When a child enters school, his teachers call him by his full name, e.g. កឹម សុស /kɛm soh/'KEM Sos,' and so his classmates and contemporaries normally follow suit, so that the individual is referred to as កឹម សុស /kɛm soh/'KEM Sos,' not កឹម /kɛm/'KEM'

1. There are a few members of the ANG DUONG branch as well.

or សុស /soh/'Sos' by his contemporaries as well. After reaching adulthood, to intimate friends he may be known as សុស /soh/'Sos,' while to persons with whom he is on formal terms he may be known as លោកកែម សុស /look kem soh/'Look ('Mister') KEM Sos or លោកសុស /look soh/'Look Sos.'

A woman is referred to in the same way, except that she is given the title នាង /nian/ if unmarried or married and of ordinary social status. If married and of higher social status, she may have the title អ្នកស្រី /nɨʔ srey/ or លោកស្រី /look srey/. When a Cambodian woman marries, she keeps her maiden name. In cosmopolitan society or on official documents she takes the French title Madame and her husband's full name. Thus if Kem Sos' wife is named ខៃ ទួរ៉ា /khay tourəa/'KHAY Toura,' she is known in most of her social and professional dealings as ខៃ ទួរ៉ា /khay tourəa/ 'KHAY Toura.' However, when she is being considered by cosmopolitan friends as a member of a couple or is listed in official documents, she may well be known as Madame KEM Sos or អ្នកស្រី /nɨʔ srey/ KEM Sos or លោកស្រី /look srey/ KEM Sos. She may also be referred to as នាង /nian/ KHAY Toura wife of KEM Sos.

A divorcée will continue to use the name of her divorced husband as above until remarriage, in which case she will adopt the name of the new husband. A widow does likewise.

B.3 Lists of Titles

B.3.1 Titles in General Formal Address

លោក	/look/	used with males of equivalent or higher social status.
លោកស្រី	/look srey/	used with women of high social status, with wives of high status men, and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women.
អ្នក	/nɨʔ/	used for older women of ordinary social status and for one's mother in អ្នកម្ដាយ /nɨʔ medaay/'mother.'
អ្នកស្រី	/nɨʔ srey/	used with married women of the middle class.
នាង	/nian/	'Miss' (see above, Section U.3.1), also used with children of either sex.
កញ្ញា	/kaññaa/	'Miss' (formal)

B.3.2 Honorific Titles

1. ឯកឧត្តម	/ʔak udom/	His Excellency, Your Excellency
2. លោកជំទាវ	/look cumtiəv/	used to address or refer to the wife of an ឯកឧត្តម /ʔak udom/ or to a very high woman official.

B.3.3 Royal Titles

1. ស្តេច	/sdac/	King
ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ	/preh mohaksat/	King
ព្រះចៅ	/prəh caw/	King
2. អធិរាជ	/athiriec/	Emperor
ព្រះអធិរាជ	/prəh athiriec/	Emperor
ព្រះចៅអធិរាជ	/prəh caw'athiriec/	Emperor
3. មហាក្សត្រី	/mohaksatrəy/	Queen
មហាក្សត្រិយានី	/mohaksatriyanii/	Queen
4. សម្តេច	/samdac/	'Prince, Princess' one who is eligible to become king or queen. Also a non-hereditary title of nobility which the king could give to a commoner or a member of his family, usually his oldest son. May be used to designate an extremely learned or powerful person as well.[1]
5. ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់	/prəh ɔŋ moah/	'Prince, Princess' child of the king
6. អ្នកអង្គម្ចាស់	/nɔ̆ ɔŋ moah/	'Prince, Princess' grandchild of a king when both parents are a king's children.
7. ឃុន	/khun/	A wife of the king other than his first wife. She is a commoner.
8. អ្នកមាន	/nɔ̆ mniaŋ/	A commoner who becomes the wife of a

1. The title សម្តេច /samdac/ has been abolished by decree except for the highest ranks in the Buddhist hierarchy.

/prɔ̃h ɔŋ mɔah/ or a /nɨ̃ʔ ɔŋ mɔah/.

9. ព្រះបង់ /truŋ/ Child of a /prɔ̃h ɔŋ mɔah/ or a /nɨ̃ʔ ɔŋ mɔah/ whose mother is a commoner.

10. នឹកវ /kaɛv/ The child of a /truŋ/ or child of any other descendent of a king whose father is a commoner. Children of a /kaɛv/ are considered commoners.

B.3.4 Clerical Titles (for Buddhist clergy)

1. ព្រះសង្ឃ /prɔ̃h sɔŋ/ } A Buddhist monk
លោកសង្ឃ /look sɔŋ/ }

2. នេន /neen/ A postulant monk (2 or 3 months in the wat)

3. សាមណេរ /saamenee/ A novice monk (up to approximately two years in the wat)

4. ភិក្ខុ /phikhoʔ/ A Buddhist monk, particularly one who is no longer a novice

5. មហាថេរ /mohathae/ A monk who has been in the wat for at least ten years

6. ព្រះឧត្តរ(ព្រះ)គុណ /prɔ̃h dac/ (prɔ̃h) kun/ Title for any monk; term of address for a monk

7. ព្រះមហា /prɔ̃h mohaa/ } A monk of high rank, especially the
មហា /mohaa/ } superior of a wat or his assistants

This term is used for:

8. ចៅអធិការ /caw aathikaa/ The elected superior of a wat

9. គ្រូឧត្តរ /kruu sout/ the elected assistant to the superior of a wat (there are two in each wat); also called

ចៅអធិការរង /caw aathikaa rɔŋ/ 'assistant superior'

10. អាចារ្យ /aacaa/ A lay official who acts as liaison between the wat and the lay community

11. មេគណ /meekun/ The head of the monks of a province

12. ព្រះសង្ឃនាយក /prɔh sɑŋ niayɨʔ/
ព្រះសម្ដេចសង្ឃ /prɔh sɑmdac sɑŋ/
ព្រះមហាសង្ឃរាជ /prɔh mohasɑŋkhariec/
} Chief of the clerical community in Cambodia

Female Clergy

13. ដូនជី /doun cii/
យាយជី /yiey cii/
} A Buddhist nun

14. សាមណេរី /saamɑneerii, saamɑneery/ } A novice nun (under two years)

15. ភិក្ខុនី /phikhoʔnii, phikhoʔnəy/ } A Buddhist nun who is no longer a novice

16. ធម្មី /theerii/ A Buddhist nun of at least 10 years standing with administrative responsibility or extra prestige

B.3.5 Military Titles

1. Officers

ឧត្តមសេនីយ	/udɔm seeney/	General
ឧត្តមសេនីយឯក	/udɔm seeney aek/	Lieutenant General
ឧត្តមសេនីយទោ	/udɔm seeney too/	Major General
ឧត្តមសេនីយត្រី	/udɔm seeney trey/	Brigadier General
វរសេនីយឯក	/vareʔ seeney aek/	Colonel
វរសេនីយទោ	/vareʔ seeney too/	Lieutenant Colonel
វរសេនីយត្រី	/vareʔ seeney trey/	Major
សេនេសេនីយឯក	/areʔ seeney aek/	Captain
សេនេសេនីយទោ	/areʔ seeney too/	First Lieutenant
សេនេសេនីយត្រី	/areʔ seeney trey/	Second Lieutenant

2. Warrant Officers

នាយចុងភៅ	/niey cɔŋnɔŋ/	Warrant Officer
នាយទាហានរង	/niey tiahien rɔŋ/	(Junior) Warrant Officer

3. Enlisted Men

ពលបាលឯក	/pɔl baal aek/	Master Sergeant
ពលបាលទោ	/pɔl baal too/	Sergeant First Class
ពលបាលត្រី	/pɔl baal trey/	Sergeant

នាយឧកញ្ញ	/niey aek/	Chief Corporal
នាយទាហាន	/niey too/	Corporal
ពលឯក	/pŏol aek/	Private First Class
ពលទាហាន	/pŏol too/	Private
ពលត្រី	/pŏol trey/	Recruit

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